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ART. I.—THE INCHES OF THE FORTH.

WHEN the great Roman historian Caius Cornelius Tacitus, treating of his father-in-law's campaigns in Scotland, makes mention of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, he describes these estuaries as 'carried up an immense way by the tides of a different sea.' (*Nam Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae*).^{*} Now, let any one take his stand upon one or other of the numerous vantage-points which present themselves in the capital of the North: say, the slopes of Arthur's Seat, the Calton Mount, the Castle, the Hills of Braid. Thence let his eye travel seaward from the church spires and smoking chimneys of Leith; and, on a clear day, he cannot fail to descry the outlines of a boldly cragged island, capped with a lighthouse. This islet, solitary and precipitous, rising sombre-hued out of the deep blue waters, and set about mid-way in the Bodotrian Channel, is Inchkeith. Never a very accessible spot, being out of the beat of the excursion steamers, few even of those long resident in Edinburgh seem to have visited or to know much about it. Yet the island is neither without interest nor unknown to history. Within the last three or four years its importance in a modern sense has largely grown, in that the place has passed

^{*} *Cn. Jul. Agric. Vita*, XXIII.

from private hands into the possession of the Crown for defence purposes, and become a powerfully armed fortress; with a commodious new pier and many military additions, the details of which are not matter to be communicated to the public.

Geologically, the island is a huge mass of erupted basalt, similar to the cliffs of Edinburgh Castle, Salisbury Crag and the bold buttresses of the opposite Fife shore. But this trap is interspersed with three or four parallel bands of sedimentary rocks of the lower carboniferous series. These strata run mainly parallel with the longer axis of the island, and dip to the east north-east at a high angle. They include sandstone, limestone, shale, and a very thin seam of coal. The island is under a mile long, narrow in proportion, and covers some two and fifty acres exclusive of the foreshores. The summit is 183 feet above mean sea level, and the lighthouse top adds to this altitude another 50 feet.

In favourable weather, the views from Inchkeith on all sides are magnificent. To the southward, the Bass, the Law of North Berwick, and the long low line of the Haddington coast. Then the eye is carried round across the haze and towering pinnacles of the 'Maiden City' to the Pentlands, and up the broad expanse of the Firth now spanned by the colossal bridge which is one of the world's wonders. Northward, the richly wooded slopes of Fife, 'Saint Colme's Inch' and its outliers, Donibristle, Burntisland; round to Kinghorn, of fateful royal memory, and away past the 'lang toun' of Kirkcaldy to the point of Elie and the lonely scarped profile of May. Yet, what one feels most, planted in this wind-loved spot, is the sea-scape—the wide circling waste of waters, storm-tossed oftentimes, and ploughed aforetime by many a ship's prow of Roman, Northman, Englander. And in a north-easterly gale, or black biting 'haar,' the Firth can look gloomy indeed, well meriting the designation 'Murky Fiord' given it by Torfæus, the Norse historian (*sinum myrkvafiordum seu tenebricosum*). Round about the Inch are a number of outlying satellites: the 'Pallas Rock,' 'Briggs,' and the two 'Herwits.' At the extremity of the greater Herwit is a beacon light with automatic whistle, which emits a weird and melancholy

sound to a long distance, a moaning monotone of warning to all sea-craft coming hereaway day or night.

Inchkeith is not altogether devoid of archæological import. A generation back some vestiges of ancient human occupation of the island were discovered in the shape of what are known to experts as 'Kitchen Middens.' These objects are simply accumulations of the rude food-leavings of the primitive inhabitants, whoever they were, located in former times in the island: refuse heaps made up of animal bones and the shells of testacea which had served for human victual. One such midden was discovered in 1870 near the old landing jetty, at the foot of the slope or *talus* lying between the cliff and the beach, where the talus had been washed or worn away so as to leave an exposed section. Here bones were seen protruding from the soil, and there was abundance of edible mollusc shells. Some of the bones had been split (doubtless to get at the marrow), and a few bore marks of fire. They included the osseous remains of the ox, sheep, pig, horse, rabbit and of the grey seal,* once common to the Firth of Forth, but now I believe extinct there. This 'midden' relic was judged to be of considerable antiquity. It has now disappeared. Another well-marked specimen of the same class of objects is visible in a section of ground laid bare in forming the ditch (foss) of one of the modern batteries. Here, again, empty shells and animal remains, bones, etc., are apparent. The shells predominate and are seen matted close in a seam, over a foot thick, tapering to nothing, covered by a natural layer of turf which has accumulated in the lapse of time to a maximum depth of eighteen inches. The depth of this overlying soil is of course a comparative index to the age of the midden, and may mean, at the generally slow rate of growth of such superposits, the gradual accretion of many centuries. Thus we have in these deposits the leaves of a book, plainly revealing to us their record of long by-gone sojourners in this little sequestered island. I may add that Mr. Joseph Anderson, LL.D., the learned secretary of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, to whom in October, 1893, I showed the midden

* See a paper by Mr. D. Grieve, F.S.A. Scot., the finder, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, Vol. IX., 1872.

last described, pronounced it to be, like the other, a genuine and good example of its class. And I rather think I may claim it as a new 'find,' or, at all events, one hitherto undescribed.

Now let us glance at the historical gleanings to be picked up concerning the Inchkeith of yore. Its strategical importance as a place of outlook and challenge to vessels passing up or down the Firth, and those anchored in the neighbouring roadstead, must naturally have been apparent from the earliest times. Whether Julius Agricola in any of his northern expeditions made any military use of this island is not told to us. We know this much, however, that in the summer of his sixth year of office as Governor of Britain, when carrying his arms into Caledonia to the north of the Forth-Clyde line of defence, this great vice-roy utilised his fleet to explore the harbours along the coast.*

Coming on to a later epoch, that of the pioneer Christian Saints of Scotland, we hear something of Inchkeith from the early chronicler, John of Fordun. On this island, says he, the sainted Abbot Adamnan, biographer of the illustrious Columba, sojourned for a season, and here this holy disciple of the great Apostle of the West received certain stranger missionary brethren of the faith, to wit, St. Serf and his followers, on their first arrival in eastern Scotland. When the two holy *patres* met in the little islet, St. Serf enquired of his host, 'How shall I dispose of my family and my companions?' (*Quomodo disponam familiæ et sociis meis?*) To this Adamnan made answer: 'They shall dwell in the land of Fife and from the Mountain of the Britons, even to the Mount which is called Okhel.'† Such an incident as this would be more impressive if we were assured of its authenticity, but unfortunately the chronologies of the early Saints are so mixed that it is often impossible to harmonise the diverse accounts of their biographers. In this case, it has been pointed out that the two saints, Serf and Adamnan, were not contemporaries: consequently there must be some confusion of

* *Amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas . . . portus classe exploravit.* Agric. Vit., xxv. Tacitus.

† Life of St. Serf in W. F. Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 416. (Mentioned in Stuart's *Records of Priory of May*. LXXII.)

persons in the narrative. It has been thought, however, not improbable that an oratory or hermitage dedicated to St. Adamnan may have existed on Inchkeith, analogous to the primitive cell on the neighbouring island of Inchcolm, sacred to Columba.

Passing by the era of viking and foreign marauders from many a land afar, we light upon firmer historic ground by the time we approach the middle of the 16th century.

The fifth decade of this century was a most disastrous one for Scotland. The close of James V.'s reign had been embittered by the defeat of his forces near the Border, and a bare year and a half had passed since the King's death, when war was again proclaimed, and Seymour, Earl of Hertford, appeared (A.D. 1544) in the Firth of Forth with a fleet of invading transports. Edinburgh (says Burton) was set on fire, and 'the beautiful town blazed for three days and nights.' Leith, many Fife Burghs, and then the country southward towards England, were wasted and ravaged after the usual remorseless wont, and 'Ancrum Moor ran red with gore.' To get a notion of the savage animosity of Henry at this time against the Scots, we have only to study the orders of the English Privy Council issued on 10th April, 1544, to Hertford. The Earl is to make an inroad into Scotland 'to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh Town, and to raze and deface it when you have sacked it and gotten what you can of it. . . . Sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can: sack Leith, and burn and subvert it and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you.'* Next year, again, under the orders of the great Harry, in furtherance of his vindictive crusade against the Church, the dreaded commander reappears, and proceeds to harass and pillage the religious houses of the border counties. Two years more and yet a third invasion of Scottish territory by the Southron ensues, under the same

* John Hill Burton considers we may trace the hand of the King himself in the drafting of these ferocious orders. *Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 233.

generalissimo, now Duke of Somerset, and practically ruler of England in the minority of Royal Edward. This time the tactics of his Roman predecessor, Agricola, were reproduced; in that a double force, one dispatched by land and the other by sea, co-operated and combined at Musselburgh. The slaughter and collapse of the Scots at Pinkie were the result. Then came a reinforcement by French troops and the removal of the child-Queen, Mary Stuart, to the safer and more congenial soil of France.

Such was the state of matters, when the Island of Inchkeith comes for a moment on the stage with a certain dramatic force. Its advantageous situation had not escaped the invader's notice. Fortifications were about this time constructed on the Isle, and the place was garrisoned by the English with a considerable force, which included a contingent of Italian mercenaries in their pay. This garrison was a serious annoyance to the shipping navigating the Firth. But, meanwhile, M. d'Essé, the French Commander,* on behalf of the allied Scots and French, had pushed on with his defences at Leith. So, it fell out that, on Corpus Christi Day, A.D. 1549, at day-break, the Franco-Scottish soldiers set out for Inchkeith from the Leith shore, in presence of the Queen Mother, Mary of Lorraine: and, after a severe fight, in which the English Commandant with some 300 of his men were slain, the place surrendered. Thereafter, the French held the island on behalf of the Queen Dowager till her death in 1560.†

In the course of recent military duty, the present writer had frequently to visit Inchkeith, and the following personal notes represent the condition of the remnant of the old fortress as late as the beginning of 1894. The early fortifications of the island are still existent along the eastern side, and the walls in fair preservation, though ruinous in places. Their exterior is neatly

* André de Montalembert, seigneur d'Essé en Angoumois, etc., etc.

† See *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, by the late Sir Daniel Wilson, (Vol. I.), 1848. The author appears to have considered the old walls still visible to be identical with the fortifications erected by the English in or before 1549. But, according to Mr. Mylne, the walled fort was not completed till 1564.

faced with solidly jointed masonry some four feet in thickness, the mortar of which is, like so many of these ancient cements, extremely hard and most difficult to break with the pick. The work was a bastioned one, and the ramparts followed very closely the edge of the steep rocky summit-plateau of the island. A very interesting plan of this 16th century fort as it existed in 1778 was mapped by Mr. Robert Mylne, F.R.S.* This plan shows the full trace of the fortress, its principal gateway in the northern face, the sally-port, guard-house, and officers' quarters, with the positions for pieces of ordnance in the bastion flanks. The ancient memorial escutcheon, a stone slab, which is now built into a modern archway admitting to the lighthouse offices, was apparently fixed, when Mr. Robert Mylne made his plan, in the wall of the north-east bastion now demolished. This scutcheon displays the Scottish lion rampant supported by a unicorn on either side and surmounted by a coronal of the national type. Under the shield the date 1564 is embossed, but the portion of the Royal arms with the lettering 'Maria Reg.' (mentioned by Rev. Scott Mylne) has disappeared. The area of the old fort must have covered pretty much the site of the present lighthouse enclosure.

Concerning such an out-of-the-way nook as this isle of Inchkeith, every little scrap of history connecting it in former times with the mainland and the Scottish capital, is of interest. Now, in 1557, it would seem that a certain 'Johnne Roytell, Franche-manne' (as he is styled in a Council minute of the Burgh of Edinburgh)† was appointed for life Principal Master Mason in Scotland. Furthermore, at the request of the Prior of Holyrood, the same Roytell had seven years before been made a Burgess of Edinburgh. 'We may perhaps,' says Mr. Scott Mylne, 'connect Roytell's name with the fortification of the Island of Inchkeith by the French, the order for which was given while Mary was yet in France: while the work was completed in 1564. The fort was afterwards by agreement dismantled.' Another curious

* And is given in the *Master-Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, by Rev. R. Scott Mylne—1893.

† *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, edited by J. D. Marwick, 1875.

item in the *Burgh Records* connects the Island with 16th century quarantine regulations. On 11th August, 1564, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordain the setting of a watch at Newhaven and the pier and shore of *Jeyth*, both 'night and day, for keeping of the people suspect of the pest within their ships.' A fortnight after the establishment of this quarantine, we have this further Minute of Council. 'The baillies and Council foresaid, after avisement with the Queen's Majesty, writing granted in favour of the ships to *lose* (unload) their goods upon the inches, appoints the ships of James Logan, Thomas Symson, Scott of the Wemys, Litaljhoun and Blyth to *Inchekeyth*. . . .' No joke indeed for these unlucky skippers, to have to discharge cargo on this rockbound islet, wharfless and harbourless, and then re-ship to the mainland when the embargo was over!

An incident associating Inchkeith with a year fateful to Mary Stuart may not unfittingly close the account of this island. In 1567, we have a record of its French Commandant, who is styled 'le Capitain d'Inchkeith,' and who, as an eye-witness of them, wrote a narrative of the momentous events which took place between the 7th and 15th June, 1567.* These events, it hardly needs to say, culminated in the meeting of the Queen and her new-wed Consort, Bothwell, with the Confederate Lords on Carberry Hill, and in Mary's surrender to the latter, which for her was the beginning of the end!

Before passing to Inchcolm, we may take note of another little islet situated in the upper waters of the Bodotrian Firth, Inchgarvie. Not that there is much to tell about it. But the march of modern engineering science has been the means of bringing this diminutive rock prominently under the eye of thousands of the travelling public, who might never otherwise have known of its existence. The island was purchased, I believe, within recent years for a handsome sum from the proprietor (Dundas of Dundas) by the promoters of the Forth Bridge, and the central pier of that Titanic structure rests upon the adaman-

* 'Récit des Evénements du 7 au 15 Juin, 1567, par le Capitain d'Inchkeith,' printed by Teulet II., 300. (See J. H. Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 248).

tine foundation of the living rock of which the island is composed, the compact igneous trapstone of the locality. The Inch of Garvie, in fact, is simply a bare rugged lump of hard mineral without a vestige of vegetation on it, and before the bridge was projected, its market value must have been next to nothing. Looking down out of window from the railway train as it rumbles along the elevated alley which, perched high aloft, traverses the waters of the estuary, one sees this long, narrow, sombre rock-ridge, and upon it an old square tower with some minor buildings abutting against it. On the top of this tower are a staging and a small turret or receptacle to carry a light for navigating purposes.

This old tower represents the remains of a castle or fortalice erected here towards the close of the 15th century. In Mr. Mylne's treatise on the Scottish Mastermasons already cited, a quaint and apparently antique drawing is given of the 'old Fortress on Inchgarvie Rock,' as it was A.D. 1491; but the source of the illustration is not stated. It depicts two crenellated square towers with outlying ramparts.

The Charter of License to build this Castle was granted by King James IV. to John Dundas, Laird of Dundas (1490-91), and its terms are so curious and instructive as to the style of old fortresses of this period, that I shall quote an extract from it modernised.

'James, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all his worthy men to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know ye that with advice of the Lords of our Council, we have granted and by the tenour of these presents do grant to our beloved familiar esquire, John Dundas of that ilk and his heirs, full power, free faculty, and our special license, to found, edify, and build, a castle or fortalice, upon his rock called *Inchgarde* lying in the water of Forth, between the passage of the Queen's ferries, as shall seem to him most expedient: encompassing the said castle or fortalice with stone walls, and fortifying, strengthening, and defending it with moats, iron gates, drawbridges, *tumlers*, portcullises, battlements, machicolations, crenelles, and *skowlares*; and with all other and sundry munitions and defences, which can be planned or constructed upon the said Rock; and raising it and finishing it on high, and preparing machines on the summit thereof, and adorning it with warlike and defensive ornaments; also appointing in the said castle or fortalice a constable, keeper of the prisons, wardens, guards, porters, and other officers necessary.*'

* *Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, p. 11.

This Charter also gave Dundas license to exact the customary fees, whatever these might be: possibly a toll on vessels passing up or down the waterway; or perhaps an impost on those using or plying at the Queen's ferries hard by. In any case, it is obvious that this insulated rock and its stronghold held a position of vantage planted here about mid-way in a narrow strait of the estuary, and commanding the great highway route from north-eastern Scotland to the capital. Moreover the Castle would probably serve to keep in check to some extent the hordes of piratical marauders, who at this time, and for long after, were wont to infest the Firth of Forth, to the jeopardy of its legitimate traders, and to the deadly peril of the unfortunate inhabitants located along its shores.

We have seen that though the island of Inchkeith is secluded, and comparatively inaccessible, it is nevertheless, by reason of its situation, well under the eye of sojourners in the Scottish capital and its vicinity. Of its neighbour, St. Colm's Isle, the same cannot be said, inasmuch as this little green-clad rock lies close in under the north shore of the Firth, and is not easily distinguishable until you approach it on shipboard, or view it from the prettily wooded Fife shore near Aberdour. But that Inchcolm is the cynosure of the Bodotrian islands, in respect of historical and archæological interest, is beyond dispute. For it possesses actual remains which carry us back into very early Christian times; back *certainly* well-nigh eight centuries, and in all probability some centuries earlier still. Inchcolm is indeed the Hy-Colmkil of eastern Scotland. And what Iona came to be to the Western Highlands, a shrine sacrosanct and a revered resting-place for the great departed, such, though perhaps in a lesser degree, was Inchcolm in the estuary of the Forth to the men of renown in Lothian and the eastern parts of Caledonia.

There is something suggestive and spirit-soothing, even to us moderns, in the solitude and retirement of most diminutive islets of the sea. One feels a sense of aloofness from the turmoil of the world: the beats of time seem to move slower: the environment lends itself more naturally somehow to meditation and a devotional attitude. This is why the monks and hermits of old so often found their way to islands, where, in some sequestered

cave or cell, they could compose themselves, without fear of disturbance, to prayer and abstinence, and detachment of the soul. 'When a man' says Johnson, 'retires into an island, he is to turn his thoughts entirely to another world. He has done with this.' In this spirit the anchorites of the West secluded themselves in many a surge-dashed retreat;—as Iona, Lismore, Sanda, Eilean Naomh, Eilean Mor, the Sainted Kilda—remote spots far indeed from the world's rout and roar. On the western seaboard the choice of such insulated domiciles was practically unlimited. But along the coast line of Albion, washed by the North Sea, the number is very small. From Duncansby to Thanet a count on the fingers exhausts them. And of these isles—not forgetting holy Lindisfarne—all or nearly so are situated in or about the spacious Firth—the 'Scots Water' of olden time—which laves the portal of Scotia's premier city. And when we consider the fine central position of this estuary and its great facilities of water transport for reaching the different mainland regions of missionising enterprise, we need not wonder that the primitive *religieux* have left their names and vestiges in the islands of May, the Bass, Fiddra, Cramond, and the two greater Inches of the Forth.

There is early record of the island of Inchcolm. In an ancient chronicle of the 14th century it is named *Æmonia quam quondam incoluit dum Pictis et Scotis fidem praedicavit Sanctus Columba Abbas*. In this place-name, *Æmonia* or *Emona*, a resemblance has been suggested to certain names of other islands, e.g., *Mona* (Isle of Man), *Po-mona* (Orkney), *I-ona*, *Cra-mond*. The point is a nice one, and may be left to the topographical philologists.

If the early accounts are to be accepted, we may conclude that the *Culdees* or primitive Christians of the Columban era established a seat or centre of their cult at Inchcolm about the close of the 6th century. And here, it would seem, the little primitive community of ecclesiastics, whatever it was, which settled in the island, held on its way in comparative quietude, preaching the faith for two or three hundred years, till the terrible incursions of the piratical Norsemen, which in the 9th century carried fire, sword, and havoc into so many churches and

homesteads of Scotland, and which devastated the western sanctuary of St. Columba equally with his Bodotrian shrine.

Leaving behind us this dismal epoch of rapine, we pass the thousandth year of the Christian era, and reach a period of Scottish history as to which the old chronicler Holinshed throws a sidelight upon our little island of the Forth. The incident related may partake more or less of the legendary or traditional lore, from which the earlier historians so freely drew their materials, but it is none the less interesting. The narrator is recounting the defeat by Macbeth and Banquo of an expedition dispatched to the Forth by King Cnut the Dane, conqueror of England: and here we find the tale of which the immortal playwright has given us the echo. 'They' (the Danes) 'that escaped and got over to their ships obtained of Macbeth for a great sum of gold that such of their friends as were slain at the last bickering might be buried in St. Colme's Inch. In memorie whereof manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch there to be seen graven with the armes of the Danes.' Now compare Shakespeare's adaptation of the story, where Ross tells King Duncan,

' That now
Sweno, the Norway's King, craves composition ;
Nor would we deign him burial of his men
Till he disbursed at Saint Colme's inch
Ten thousand dollars to our general use.'

But before proceeding further with the history of this veritable 'Holy Isle,' steeped as it is with Christian tradition, I must take the reader with me to the consecrated spot itself and describe the actual relics still to be seen there. It was the writer's good fortune quite recently, when steaming up and down the Firth and examining its beautiful shores for official purposes, to be able twice or thrice to land on Inchcolm. These occasions gave the opportunity of thoroughly exploring the island as well as the highly interesting ruins it contains, which last, besides adding to its picturesqueness, virtually constitute its history. First, then, for the ruins. These include the remains of a 13th century Abbey Church, and a small stone oratory or chapel (capellula) obviously of far higher antiquity. Both structures are

Christian in character ; but it is essential to a right understanding of the place and its archæological significance, not to confound the two objects, nor to class them together as though they belonged to the same date or bore any similarity of architectural features. The oratory has been most minutely and learnedly discussed in a paper of date 1857* by the late Sir James Simpson. The later mediæval building and its history form the subject of a very able and elaborate monograph by Mr. Thomas Arnold of the Institute of British Architects, illustrated with plans, and contributed to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1869.† From both sources I have necessarily drawn considerably in the present remarks.

The first thing a visitor to Inchcolm, who is acquainted with Iona, cannot fail to note is the remarkable resemblance of their two abbatial churches. To the eye viewing the ruins in each case, the grouping of the buildings is singularly alike. The same antique type of square tower, the same chevron line marking where the gable of an adjunct building abutted upon one of its faces. This similitude is a point emphasised by Simpson. 'The tower of the church of Inchcolm,' he observes, 'is so similar in its architectural form and details to that of Icolmkil, that it is evidently a structure nearly, if not entirely, of the same age.' Now, the late Bishop Reeves, a very high authority, referred the well known ruined church at Iona to the early part of the thirteenth century, and Sir James Simpson inclines to place the foundation of the Inchcolm church at about the same date. But, as in so many of our cathedrals and more important churches elsewhere, the style of the buildings at St. Colme's Inch is composite and transitional, showing various additions and re-constructions during the interval between its commencement and its extinction on the eve of the Reformation. As we shall see presently, the inauguration of the Augustinian monastery, which succeeded the earlier ecclesiastical settlement in the little island, appears to have been due to Alexander I. of Scotland, and would thus carry us back to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

* *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* Vol. II., p. 481.

† *Archæologica Scotica.* Vol. V., Pt. 1, 1873.

But the original foundation at Inchcolm of the monastic community, which was to be domiciled here for over four hundred years, does not necessarily infer the synchronous erection of any part of the present Abbey Church.

The actual remains of the ancient Abbey of Inchcolm, which have survived the ravages of time and decay, include both the church and the conventual domiciliary buildings. Of the former little more is left than the fine old tower and the Lady Chapel. Next the tower a small transept and a portion of the nave are still standing, and to the north of them, again, is the remnant of some detached accessory buildings. But the rest of the nave, the choir, the chancel, and the north-east transept which we should look for to correspond in position with the Lady Chapel, have disappeared; so that to the non-expert it is most difficult to trace the place out on the ground. An overhanging fragment of the vaulted roof of the Lady Chapel is a conspicuous object, and it speaks well for the excellence of the cement which binds it that this arch has held together in unstable equilibrium so long. One sees at once where the altar of our Lady stood, and notes the niche and piscina which served it. The Chapter-house of the usual octagonal shape and handsomely buttressed, is a veritable gem of its kind. Simpson calls it one of the most beautiful and perfect in Scotland. In the interior the roof-groining, and the doorway circular-headed and shafted, are fine distinctive features. A narrow stone bench circuits the wall of the chamber, except on two sides where the space is filled up by a triplet of *sedilia*, and opposite to them the single doorway above-mentioned, opening into the ambulatory of the cloister. Mr. Arnold considers the three stone *sedilia* were designed for the Abbot, Prior, and Sub-Prior of the monastery; and we can picture to ourselves these dignitaries on state occasions, seated in their stalls in solemn conclave, with a row of friars around them. According to the same authority, this little—but, as he says, ‘well-proportioned and beautiful’—chapter-house is probably the smallest in Britain. In a storey built over it is supposed to have been situated the Muniment Room of the Abbey, and to it, doubtless, the learned Abbot Walter Bower, writer of Scottish history, must have had frequent resort. Indeed, it has been sug-

gested as probable that this erudite prelate added the chamber himself to serve as *scriptorium*, library, and store-room for MSS.

The domestic buildings were arranged, as customarily, in a square with a covered way on three sides enclosing a cloister court, the dormitories and refectory occupying an upper storey along the south and east faces. The present dwelling-house occupied by a farm tenant represents the refectory, cellarage, and other offices, of which last we can identify the old kitchen and bakery. There are traces also of what was probably the Abbot's domicile, and possibly a Guest-house. The latter would of course in mediæval times often be in requisition; for to an ecclesiastical seat of such repute, and so near the Lothian shore, many a distinguished stranger and pilgrim would repair on affairs of business or piety, and crave for a night or two the Abbey's hospitality.

The narrowness of the nave of Inchcolm church has been remarked upon. This is a feature, however, common to very many of the earlier coast-wise churches in the remote parts of Scotland, Western England, and Ireland; and was doubtless due to the difficulty and cost of transporting to insular and out-of-the-way places materials for wide-spanned roofs.* Mr. Arnold notices a further peculiarity, in that the length of the choir of this church is excessive in proportion to the length of the nave; and accounts for this by the supposition that, as there could have been no outside congregation here, little more was wanted than a choir large enough to seat the brethren. Yet it seems fair to surmise that many of the country-folk of the Fife mainland would, on occasions—during the summer season more especially—ferry themselves across the narrow strait, which separates the little islet from the Aberdour shore, on high days, vigils, and the greater feasts, to worship in this sainted fane.

* In reviewing a work on Scottish antiquities by the present writer *The Athenæum* adduces certain ancient chapels on the Welsh and Cornish coasts in which 'the length of the building is out of all proportion to the width. . . . The width of the buildings was of course limited by the opportunities for roofing them; and where, as generally on the coast, no long timbers were obtainable, the constructors had to be satisfied with narrow structures.'—*Athenæum* of 2nd August, 1873.

From the monks' dormitory above the eastern ambulatory a stairway descended into the church. This, we are told, was for the use of the confraternity when attending night services. The dormitory had also a squint or eyelet-aperture in its wall giving a view of the high altar to any of the cenobites unable, from infirmity or other cause, to leave this portion of the building during celebrations in the church.

The fine tower, which is the dominant feature in the Abbey ruins, was of four storeys and corbelled atop. It probably had a peal of bells, seeing that bells are named among the multifarious spoils carried off from Inchcolm by the English in one of their fourteenth century raids. The window openings in the refectory are very deeply recessed, and from within one of them, according to local tradition, a brother diurnally read out to his companions, while they sat at meat, the lessons or offices of the day.

The precincts and immediate vicinity of the church doubtless served for centuries as a burial-place. I was told early in 1894 by the then tenant, caretaker of the ruins, that he had come across quantities of human bones—femur, knee, tibia, and a skull—lying about the area once covered by the choir, but now bare and unenclosed. In the chapter-house there were found a fragment of a memorial cross carved with a pattern of Irish fretwork, and an ancient tombstone rudely sculptured.

Such, then, is a brief description of the existing remains of a monastic establishment and church of the Middle Ages secluded in this little island. Altogether, they form a distinctive, typical, and highly interesting study to the student of the past.

A word, now, as to the topography of the island. Its shape, mapped or in bird's-eye view, is made up of two unequal wings united by a neck or isthmus only a few yards wide, so that the island is almost divided into two. On the south side of this narrow neck is a charmingly pretty bay with shingly strand, the waters of which at high tide literally wash the old Abbey walls. On the northern side is the landing-place, a narrow creek or rock-bound inlet admirably sheltered in all weathers. The island is simply a protruded lump of dark igneous rock clad with a scant coating of herbage. Overhanging one side of the landing cove

is a bold striking mass of columnar trap upreared like the pillars of Salisbury Crag. One of these columns, seen in profile from a particular spot on the adjoining knoll, has a remarkable resemblance to a human face, as of a skull-capped ancient of truculent aspect. Pictorially, the rich green tints of the perennially verdant pasture contrast harmoniously with the red-bistre of the outcropping volcanic rock. Two or three patches of scrub bush, and the gardens of the farmhouse, are all the arboreal ornament to be seen. Centre-wise in this setting place the old-world pile with its crumbling walls; encircle the whole with the ever-restless gleaming sea broken here and there by a reef or skerry; fill up the background with bold hill-ranges, distant urban smoke haze, green slopes; westward two or three miles away imagine the enormous yet graceful iron structure of piers and laced arches which bridges the estuary; and you have before you the *coup d'œil* which presents itself from the higher points of St. Columba's Inch.

Immediately around the island are a number of detached skerries: the 'Haystack,' Middens, Car Craig, and Craig Swallow. The north passage between the island and mainland is quite narrow, about half a mile across, and encroaching on its fairway channel is a dangerous reef, named Maydulse (or Meadulse). This reef is visible at low water, but at high tide nothing of it is to be seen. A large vessel not long ago went aground here, and we shall presently note an incident of mediæval tradition not improbably connected with the spot. Then, stretching across towards Granton, may be seen nearly in a line the Oxcars Light, Mickery Stone (Cow and Calves), a small pointed skerry generally alive with gulls and cormorants, and Inch Mickery, an outlier of Cramond.

Having, then, tried to picture to the reader the aspect and entourage of the ancient Abbey of Inchcolm, I return to its history.

We have noted that King Alexander is to be regarded as the virtual inaugurator, early in the 12th century, of the Inchcolm fraternity of Augustinian black monks, or 'Austin friars,' as this Order was also named. The account given in the *Scotichronicon* of how this came about is very

quaint and suggestive, whatsoever may be its legendary leaven. The narrative is *De fundatione monasterii canonicorum de Scona, et Sancti Columbae de Aemonia*, and thus it runs—

‘About the year of our Lord 1123, not less miraculously than wonderfully, was founded the monastery of St. Columba, of the island of Aemonia, near Inverkeithin. When the noble and most Christian King, Lord Alexander, first of that name, upon certain business of state, was crossing the Queen’s Ferry, he was overtaken by a fierce tempest blowing from the south, so that the mariners were compelled to make for the island of Aemonia, where there lived a solitary hermit, who devoted himself to the service or rule of St. Columba, living in a *cell*, and supporting himself on the milk of a cow, and the shellfish which he collected on the shore. On these things the King and his companions subsisted for three days, during which they were detained by the storm.

But when in the greatest peril of the sea and the raging tempest fearing and despairing for their lives, the king made a vow to the Saint, that if he would bring them safe to that island, he (Alexander) would there found a monastery to his honour, which would become an asylum and refuge for seafarers and the shipwrecked.

Thus it came to pass that he there founded a monastery of monks, such as exists at present (15th century), both because he had always from his youth venerated St. Columba with special honour, and also because his parents were long deprived of the comfort of a child, until by devoutly supplicating this Saint, they gloriously obtained what they had so long earnestly desired.’*

The ‘cell,’ as Sir J. Simpson remarks, was doubtless the ‘*sacellum*’ and ‘*capellula*’ of Hector Boece’s account, which relic, already referred to, still exists on the island, and will be described more particularly further on.

It will be remembered that we saw reason to refer to the early part of the 13th century the actual erection of any sub-

* *Scotichronicon*, Lib. V., ch. 37. I have practically adopted Mr. Arnold’s version of the story.

This ancient chronicle of Scottish history represents writings by John of Fordun near the end of the 14th century, with large additions by Walter Bower, who was elected Abbot of Inchcolm in 1418. Simpson draws attention to the fact that Abbot Bower credits himself with the authorship of no less than 11 out of the 16 books of the *Scotichronicon*. Thus, the above picturesque story of the inception of the Abbey would have the advantage of his own personal knowledge of the island. According to Burton, Fordun wrote the chronicle to the middle of the 11th century, while Bower carried it on to midway in the 15th century.

stantial portion of the existing Abbey church and its adjacent buildings. Now, sometime about this period, a member of the house of Mortimer appears to have espoused the daughter and heiress of a Sir John de Vypont, and to have thus acquired the lordship of Aberdour. By the middle of the 13th century, the third Alexander was sovereign of Scotland, and it was in his time that we find record of a later Mortimer, Alan by name ('Alan de Mortuo Mari,') assigning part of his lands of *Abirdaur* in exchange for the right of burial for himself and his posterity at Inchcolm. And this portion of the Aberdour realty afterwards passed into the hands of the Douglasses, Earls of Morton. Such a transaction serves to illustrate the sanctity of this insular spot, and how highly prized were the privileges of sepulture therein.

In his *History of Fife*, Sir R. Sibbald notices a curious tradition touching this Alan de Mortimer. When his corpse, encased in a leaden coffin, was being conveyed over from the mainland to the Inch for burial in the Abbey church, it was cast overboard into the outlying Sound by certain reprobate monks. And from this circumstance the Sound took the name of 'Mortimer's Deep.' A reference to the Ordnance map will show that this place-name, applied to the passage between Meadulse reef and Braefoot Bay, still survives.

By the second half of the 13th century, we begin to hear of additions to the fabric of Inchcolm church; for, in 1265, (according to the *Scotichronicon*), Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, built a new choir to it. After this prelate's death, says Father Hay, his body was buried in Dunkeld Cathedral, but his heart was laid in the north wall of the choir of St. Colme, which he had erected. Several of the pre-Reformation bishops of Dunkeld appear to have been interred at Inchcolm, instead of at their own episcopal seat, for some reason which is not quite clear. Possibly, it came about from predilection of the individuals, or because the little Bodotrian islet was esteemed a place of even greater sanctity than the venerable sanctuary on the Tay.

The fourth decade of the 14th century was a stormy and troublesome one for Scotland. David II. still in his boyhood;

Edward Baliol struggling to oust him from the throne; the fierce fight at Halidon Hill; Berwick and other strongholds yielded up to the English;—such are the leading events which bring us close up to A.D. 1335, a memorable year in the annals of the Inchcolm brotherhood. For, we read in an ancient record how, in a marauding expedition this year, an English fleet of 180 ships harried all the neighbourhood of the Firth. How it fell on a day that 'these Pagan folk' landed on the island, spoiled the holy place, and made off with great store of booty; to wit, chalices, 'crowat,' censers, 'corsis,' candlesticks, and many more relics of fine silver; books and bells; vestments of 'birneist' silk and gold. How, at the departing of the ships, uprose a tempest, which sore damaged them, and drowned the sacrilegious perpetrators of the outrage. And how the residue of the plundering Armada got respite on vowing to St. Columba that the spoil should be returned; whereupon the storm ceased!* Verily here was a kind of resuscitation of the raids of vikings in Culdee days.

But the hazards and anxieties of our island community were only beginning. The very next year (1336) brought the Augustinian canons more nefarious visitors. Scot and Southron were still at strife, and another array of English Edward's warships were at work ravaging the shores of Fife. From this flotilla is detached a single vessel, which swoops down on the defenceless monks of the sainted Inch. Again the Abbey church is despoiled, the marauders this time carrying off a beautiful carved wainscot (probably a reredos) from the choir. But the vengeance of St. Columba overtakes them, the ship suddenly sinks like lead, and every soul on board is lost. It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that this story may represent a real incident, in which a hostile vessel after plundering the Abbey struck on some adjacent shoal or skerry, possibly the Maydulse reef, and went to the bottom. Near fifty years later, much the same tale of rapine and violence at the expense of the luckless monastery is repeated. For, about 1384-5, the fleet of King Richard II., then at war with the

* *Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*—written circa 1531-5, a metrical version of Boece's historical work.

allied French and Scots, sailed up the Forth, and landed on Inchcolm. Again was the Abbey ransacked, and the spoil taken—gold, silver, and many precious things—distributed to the English soldiery. The conventual buildings were then set on fire, but the church was spared. The pillagers made off to Queensferry, and were beginning to ‘rive’ cattle there, when a troop of Scots horse led by Lyndesay, two Erskines, and Conyngham of Kilmaurs, surprised the invaders and drove them back to their ships.

In 1402, says Fordun’s *Chronicle*, was founded the chapel of the Blessed Virgin (or Lady Chapel already mentioned) by two ecclesiastics of the Inchcolm house, Richard of Aberdeen, Prior, and Thomas Crawford, Canon.

During the fifteenth century it is plain that the Abbey of Inchcolm still lay in dread of hostile incursions; for the erudite Abbot Walter, who, as we have seen, became its Superior in 1418, found it necessary to betake himself and his Canons to the mainland during some summer seasons; for that, being in fear of the English, they durst not stay in the island. What a picture this reveals to us of the insecurity and lawlessness of the times, and the jeopardy of these insular monasteries, perennially exposed to perils of waters, perils of robbers, perils in the wilderness, and with no defence against sacrilegious assailants save the ban of the Church.

In my account of Inchkeith, mention was made of certain sixteenth century incursions into the Firth of Forth by English fleets under the orders of Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Now, in 1547, after the fight of Pinkie, this redoubted leader seized upon Inchcolm as a post commanding ‘utterly the whole use of the Fryth itself with all the havens upon it.’ This we learn from a certain Londoner named Patiu (or Patten), who, as a sort of *sagaman* to the English force, writes a narrative of this *Expedicion in Scotland*. He tells us, further, that Somerset sent the brethren a new abbot-elect, Sir John Luttrell, knight, together with a hundred *hakbutters*, fifty pioneers, two *row-barks*, well munitioned, and seventy mariners, to keep his waters. Of this soldier-abbot, the narrator adds with a touch of irony, ‘so that either for love of his blessings, or fear of his

cursings, he is like to be sovereign over most of his neighbours.' Patin also tells us that the island had a plentiful supply of fresh water (which it retains to this day in the old Abbey well), and 'coonies' (conies or rabbits).

We have noted the Muniment Room built over the Chapter-house of the monastery. According to Grose, there was formerly a black-letter inscription visible on the walls of this chamber, whereof one significant word could alone be deciphered, *Stultus!*

In 1543, Henry, Abbot of Inchcolm, surrendered his office, and soon after, this notable house of Augustin Canons, which had been some 400 years located in the little islet of the Forth, was dissolved. Henceforward the Abbey was deserted and fell to ruin, and neither lection nor litany, chanted antiphon nor chime of bell, was heard more within its venerable walls.

The last historical item I shall note in connexion with the monastery of Inchcolm brings us to the momentous year that consummated the great religious Revolution in Scotland. Sir James Stewart (afterwards of Ochiltree), uncle to Crichton 'the admirable,' having acquired from the Abbot Nicholas, on Abbot Henry's surrender, the lands of West Aberdour and Beith, became Commendator of Inchcolm (i.e., a sort of vicarial Crown trustee of its revenues). In this capacity he sat in the National Assembly of the Scottish Estates, which in 1560 ratified the Geneva Confession of Faith.

During the plagues and epidemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the island served as a 'lazaretto' for those infected or suspected of disease. It also appears to have done duty on one occasion as a prison, for Bellenden, the chronicler, records that a daughter of an Earl of Ross, and member of the great family 'de Insulis' was interned here by James First of Scotland. Drummond of Hawthornden calls her 'a mannish implacable woman,' and this proceeding was doubtless connected with the vigorous measures taken by the King against the turbulent clans of the Western Highlands, and their chieftains, foremost among whom was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, afterwards confined in Tantallon Castle. Assuming the credibility of this statement, it would seem a

curious situation for a distinguished lady, shut up with her female attendants in a little islet like this, the abode of a congregation of male cenobites.

Some items of interest concerning St. Colm's Island are mentioned by General Hutton, writing in the twenties of the present century. Immured in the Abbey walls, he says, there was found in or about 1807 by some workmen a human skeleton standing upright. A grim revelation this, mayhap of some dire conventual penalty of former days, recalling the dread scene in 'Mar-mion' of monastic retribution; the sombre Benedictine tribunal, the relentless judges, the doomed guilty twain, the cowed executioners!

'For there were seen in that dark wall,
Two niches narrow, deep, and tall.
Who enters at such grisly door,
Shall ne'er, I ween, find exit more.'

And then the last presageful words of the beautiful transgressing sister:

'Some traveller then shall find my bones
Whitening amid disjointed stones.'

'In the middle of the Forth,' says Hutton, 'about 100 yards east of Inchcolm, there is a small black rock, which is called the Prison Island, and which, it is said, was used by the convent as a place of punishment and penance.* There is no island answering to this description, but it is possible the rock now named 'Swallow Craig,' which is somewhere near that distance out from the shore, may be the place meant. Or, again, he may possibly have been referring to 'Carcraig' skerry, some 900 yards E.N. East of Inchcolm. Whichever it was, a vivid imagination can perhaps picture the figure of a refractory Augustinian condemned for some flagrant breach of the discipline of his order to be boated across to either of these swart rocks and left there awhile with a pittance of victual to meditate wave-washed on his default, or recite the 'hours' in the company of skewerbacks and sea-pyats.

From the same writer we learn that in 1797 Inchcolm was

* According to Arnold's 'Account of Inchcolm.'

used as a hospital by the Russians when their fleet lay in the Forth, which, he adds, 'may account for the surprising quantity of human bones to be found all over the island, heaped together with the utmost confusion according to the Russian mode of burial.'

Before taking leave of the Abbey and its history, I must not overlook the so-called 'Cave' situated on the edge of the rocky promontory ('Charles Hill'), which interposes between the bays of Barnhill and Braefoot, at a point on the mainland nearest to the island. This cave, says Arnold, is a well-built vaulted chamber, and he thinks it was probably the lower storey of what may have been a tower of some height. The round-headed doorway in it, he adds, and the small windows facing the sea, are so well-formed of ashlar work as to suggest that the structure was the work of the builders of the insular Abbey. In all probability, he concludes, it was built as a ferry-house for the use of the monks journeying between the island and the mainland.

I pass now to the oratory or 'Capellula' (little chapel) of the anchorite. This cell, says Simpson, is of the quadrangular figure of the oldest and smallest Irish churches and oratories. In appearance one finds it a little rudely-vaulted building, arched with stone slabs set externally to a sort of sharp ridge. The internal dimensions of the chamber measure some 16 feet long by 5 wide, and at the crown voussoir $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The arching is of a like early character with the rest of the structure, a type of building usually assigned to a period ranging between the 6th and 10th centuries. The walls are not straight, nor is their trace strictly rectangular. At the east end is a tiny window-opening with recessed sill, and in the south wall a small niche, perhaps an 'aumbry,' or for the sacred elements. Along the western end is a stone bench or *sedile*, running to the full width of the cell. The entrance doorway has an arched head somewhat peculiarly constructed. Externally it is radiated, internally it is built up of overlapping and converging stones capped with a flat lintel. The whole structure has a thoroughly primitive and antique aspect. Just outside the doorway are two large trap boulders. In the time

of the early eremites the fine spring of water which afterwards became the island well, used by the Abbey, was doubtless held in high esteem far and wide as the 'holy well' of the hermitage. Sir James Simpson mentions that a sort of causeway or passage was discovered leading from the well to the oratory. 'In all probability,' he adds, 'the *capellula* of the hermit on Inchcolm was at once' (as in the Scoto-Irish examples) 'both the habitation and oratory of the solitary anchorite, and apparently the only building on the island when Alexander was tossed upon its shores. Its sacred character would probably lead to its preservation, and perhaps to its repair and restoration, when, a few years afterwards, the monastery rose in its immediate neighbourhood in pious fulfilment of the royal vow.'

Besides the ecclesiological relics, there are at Inchcolm the remains of a fort or battery erected in 1794, presumably in view of the great French war then just opening. It consists of two portions, a main fort and an advanced outwork, both situated on the smaller or ocean-ward wing of the island, and facing towards Inchkeith. The fort proper stands upon the summit ridge of the eastern hill, nearly a hundred feet above sea level. It is rectangular in shape, covers a respectable area of ground, and has emplacements for four guns. Some ruined buildings and a dilapidated old flag-staff with its guy ring-bolts let in to outcropping rocks, are still visible: and one sees the road of approach which led up to it from the landing place below. The smaller advanced battery is built at the extreme eastern point of the island; a line of parapet wall some twenty yards long, with an earthen embankment in front, and stone platform for three guns, the iron pivots of which are still *in situ*. In his *Journey through North Britain* (1802) Mr. Alexander Campbell mentions this fort, and says there was then a corps of artillery occupying it.

We have already noted the curious discovery by some workmen about 1807 of a skeleton walled up in the monastery building. Now, according to General Hutton's account, these men were being employed at the time repairing the Inchcolm battery; and it was while collecting stones for this purpose

from the Abbey church that they lighted upon their 'find.' Here, then, we seem to have an illustration, oft repeated, of the utter indifference a few generations back to the conservation of historic ruins. As the rovers of yore were wont to despoil the monasteries and churches of their gems and garniture, so the modern spoliators made nought of carting away bodily the stones of the consecrated edifices to build cottages and cowbyres.

I will close the present account of Inchcolm with some extracts from the 'Burgh Records of Edinburgh.'

During an epidemic of pest of some kind in August, 1564, certain 'Inches' of the Forth were told off as discharging places for the cargoes of particular inbound vessels in quarantine entering the port of Leith.* Among these we find the Council allotting 'the ships of Robert Sandis, the Grewhound, George Hay, to Sanct Columbeis Inche: the Ducheman and Robert Hogg to Crawmonde Inche.' Sixteen years later, the pest is again exercising the Provost and Corporation of the capital city; for, in a Minute of Council, of date 30th September, 1580, it is set forth that certain folk of Edinburgh and Leith 'who had their kin and friends infected with the pest lying in Saint Colun's Inche,' were like to suffer from default of any 'to wait upon them and to bear the office of cleansers.' Wherefore divers individuals had been sent to the island to tend the sick, 'and now the persons being deceased to whom they were sent, their said friends refuse to bear the charges of the said cleansers until they may get liberty.' The Council orders those who had made the request for attendance to pay all charges thereof. And it is further enjoined that the account, reckoning, and contribution, are to be made in the ship 'callit the *William*, wherein the said pest was brought from Danskin (Danzig?)'† Sir James Marwick infers from this that Inchcolm island was used in times of pestilence as a place for cleansing and quarantine. This view is supported by a Council Minute of 3rd October, 1580, which decrees that the

* See previous observations on Inchkeith.

† *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, edited by J. D. Marwick, 1875.

sea chests, baggage, and clothes, belonging to three persons, and taken out of the infected ship *William*, should either be impounded for fifteen days in Newhaven or in St. Colm's Island, or else be burnt and destroyed. Another Minute in the following January ordains that all the merchants and mariners of St. Colm's Inch having left the isle, and 'prayset be God' no infection seen to ensue, the remaining purgers were to be transported to Newhaven, and there be shut up awhile.

On 14th April, 1581, the Council of Edinburgh 'appoints Alexander Uddert, Baillie, Jhone Harwood, Dean of Guild, and Henry Nesbet, to agree and make price with Archibald Stewart in the Queens Ferry for buying from him of the *asler* and *thak staynis* of the Abbey in Sanct Colme's Inche to the townes wark, so many as shall be thought needful.' A further Minute announces the Council's intention to use the purchased stones and ashlar work from the island in rebuilding the old Tolbooth of the city. And a little later (30th June, 1581,) we hear again of these materials taken from the deserted Abbey: for Councillor Robert Bog is charged with the 'upbringing and placing of the ashlar stones come from Sanct Colmes Inch and lying on the shore of Leyth' to be used for the 'town's common works.'

On the whole, the appropriating of a few stones from the monastery ruins early in the present century, during the stress of the war with France, to repair the Inchcolm battery, seems a small matter beside this wholesale deportation of roofing slabs and hewn stone, the pick of the mediæval masonry of the Abbey, to subserve the urban secular needs of Dunedin. There may be those, possibly, who would regard this last proceeding as a precedent for the proposed expropriation of the revenues of the modern Church—teinds, tithes, charitable bequests, or what not, contributed by the piety of our ancestors—to hand them over for non-religious purposes to the all-devouring maw of the latest leaders of the rout!

The reader, I think, will now have gleaned enough about Inchcolm to realise what an interesting spot is this little rocky sea-girt nook of the Forth;—so near the busy haunts of men,

and yet from its insulated position so shut off from the noise and bustle of the crowd. And, though 'the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault' of the mouldering fane are well nigh obliterated, and the very God's-acre indistinguishable, the aroma of ancient days still clings to the spot.

In parting from these venerable ruins, one may not inaptly recall the sentiment of the great Fleet Street moralist concerning their Hebridean counterpart. 'Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.'

T. PILKINGTON WHITE.

ART. II.—ARGON AND THE ATMOSPHERE.

THE thirty-first of January, 1895, must for ever be regarded as a red letter day in the history of chemical and physical science, for on that Thursday evening, in the Lecture Theatre of London University—the rooms of the Society being too small to accommodate the audience assembled—at a special meeting of the Royal Society, a paper was read to a crowded and enthusiastic audience, numbering amongst its members several distinguished statesmen, by Lord Rayleigh and Professor William Ramsay, on a newly discovered constituent of the air. For some weeks previous, the occasion had been looked forward to, in scientific circles, with keen expectation and interest, as the results about to be communicated, had been anticipated, to a certain extent, by an informal announcement,* made some months earlier (August, 1894), to the Members of the British Association, at their meeting in Oxford; but the information then communicated was so scanty that it did little more than stimulate further curiosity.

* The informality of the announcement made at the British Association was for the purpose of avoiding any infringement of the regulations attached to the competition for the Hodgkins Fund Prizes offered by the Smithsonian Institution for scientific discoveries. It may be interesting here to add that the first prize of 10,000 dollars has recently been awarded to Lord Rayleigh and Professor William Ramsay for their discovery of Argon.

Long before the hour of meeting, according to newspaper reports, the doors were besieged by an excited throng of grey-headed philosophers and their friends; and as the votaries of science are not inclined to indulge in enthusiastic outbursts, as a rule, the excitement manifested on this occasion must be regarded as all the more significant.

The full import of this great discovery it is impossible as yet to estimate. Before considering the nature of the new substance and in view of this most recent addition to our knowledge on the subject, it may be interesting to very briefly review the history of the development of our knowledge of the composition of the air, giving the results of some highly important recent researches on its liquefaction and solidification.

It has been truly remarked that a schoolboy knows more of natural science than was dreamt of in the philosophies of the greatest thinkers of antiquity. For many reasons the investigation of the laws of Nature in the past was surrounded with peculiar difficulties. Thus in ancient times the forces of Nature impressed the human mind with such a sense of awe and reverence as to deter even the curious from prying too deeply into her secrets. Nature worship, so universal among the nations of antiquity, regarded scientific investigation into natural laws as savouring of impiety—a view which we may mention in passing has not been wholly confined to these remote ages, but has survived well into modern times, and which justifies the statement that religious superstition has, in the past, been one of the greatest opponents to the advancement of natural science.

Another retarding influence was the prevalence of certain theories which biassed the minds of its students in pursuing their investigations into the composition of matter. The elements, according to the ancients, were only four or five in number, and even these, it was believed, could be derived from one single or primary element. The Hindoos, thousands of years before the Christian era, believed that the elements were *fire, air, earth and water*; and that from air the other three could be formed. This tendency to refer all matter to one fundamental element may be said to have received a fresh impetus in the earliest period of Greek philosophy; and we can trace its influence in the existence

of various theories which survived up to the birth of modern chemistry, at the close of last century. To it indeed belongs the origin of the theory of the transmutation of metals, which led to the search after 'the philosopher's stone,' a subject to the fruitless investigation of which the alchemists of the Middle Ages devoted so much of their time. Thus, according to Thales, of Miletus, who lived during the sixth century, B.C., *water* was the fundamental or primary element, a view which survived as late as the seventeenth century, and was reproduced in the doctrines of the famous alchemist Van Helmont, who thought that metals and even rocks may be resolved into water, and that both animal and vegetable substances are derived from it. On the other hand, Anaximenes, another of the Greek philosophers, regarded *air* as the primary element. According to him, the clouds are caused by the condensation of air, and rain by the condensation of the clouds; while according to yet another Greek philosopher, Archelaus, air, when rarified, becomes fire, when condensed, water. Indeed, this belief in the intimate relation between air and water was a common one among Greek philosophers, and also during the Middle Ages, as is evinced by the opinion, for long prevalent, that when water is boiled it is converted into air.

It is really to Empedocles that we owe the doctrine of the division of matter into four elements, *earth, air, fire, and water*, although the doctrine is generally associated with the name of Aristotle. According to Empedocles, these four elements are not able to pass into one another but form, by their intermixture, all things. Aristotle added a fifth element, *ether*. His view of these elements differed from that of Empedocles, inasmuch as he believed that they were mutually convertible into one another. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the meaning of the word element, as used by Aristotle, is not that which we now attach to it, when we speak of the 'chemical elements,' of which more than seventy are at present known. That these elements of the ancients were more of the nature of *principles* is shown by the fact that they were divided into two or more parts. For example, air was divided into 'passive atmosphere' and 'active wind.' Further, air included smoke, steam, all vapours, and whatever approached to the nature of a gas. With the term

earth was associated the idea of dryness and coldness; with the term *water*, coldness and wetness; with the term *air*, wetness and heat; and lastly, with the term *fire*, dryness, and heat. The word 'air' was subsequently used, in a general sense, as a synonym for the word gas. During the early years of pneumatic chemistry, the different gases were called 'airs,' as, for example, '*fixed air*,' '*nitrous air*,' '*dephlogisticated air*,' etc., just, indeed, as water included all liquids.—'*aqua fortis*,' '*aqua regia*,' '*eau-de-vie*,' etc.*

The first hint as to its nature is to be found in various observations on the phenomenon of combustion. The intimate relation between fire and air was early recognised, seeing that experience soon taught that air was necessary for fire. The experiment of burning a candle in a closed vessel, now so familiar to every schoolboy, is a very old one; and the influence of a blast of air on a furnace had been probably noticed from a very remote period. By some it was affirmed to be the food of fire, while by others the same belief was embodied in the phrase 'air nourishes fire.' Again, it was long ago observed that *nitre*, a substance well known to the chemical philosophers of the past, could produce intense ignition. It was hence inferred, that, since nitre possessed this property, it necessarily followed that the two substances resembled each other in composition. According to Robert Boyle, the air contained 'volatile nitre;' while Lord Bacon held that air contained a 'volatile, crude, and windy spirit;' and thunder and lightning were supposed to be due to the presence of minute particles of this nitre diffused through the air.

The important bearing of such observations is due to the fact that oxygen gas, which is one of the chief constituents of air, and the one to which it owes its power of supporting combustion, also forms the largest elementary constituent of nitre, and is likewise the source of the power possessed by that body of supporting combustion.

The action of heat on metals in causing them to lose their metallic lustre had also not escaped notice, and Cardan, a philosopher who lived during the sixteenth century, in noticing the increase in weight that lead undergoes when heated in air,

* See Rodwell's *Birth of Chemistry* (Macmillan).

attributed it to the gas in the air which feeds flame, and which rekindles a body presenting an ignited point.

To Robert Hooke, and to his pupil and successor, John Mayow, we owe the most important contribution to our knowledge of the chemical nature of air, made up to this time. Hooke's theories were published towards the close of the seventeenth century. He concluded that combustion was effected by that constituent of the air, that is contained in nitre. John Mayow, a young Oxford physician, whose early death must for ever be regarded as an irreparable loss to chemical science, adopted Hooke's theories in his famous *Tractatus*, published in 1674. Mayow's volume may be regarded as forming the basis of pneumatic chemistry (that is, the chemistry of gases); and, had he lived to continue his observations, we cannot doubt that the discovery of the composition of the air would have been forestalled by a considerable number of years. To the combustible part of air, *i.e.*, oxygen, he gave the name 'nitre air,' 'fire air,' and 'nitro-ærial spirit,' because, in the experiment of burning a candle in an enclosed quantity of air, all the air is not consumed. Nitre contains this same 'ærial spirit' in large quantities in a condensed form. All acids, he further maintained, also contained nitre air—a singularly interesting observation, when we reflect on the origin of the term oxygen, which was given to that body a century later by Lavoisier, in the belief that it was an essential constituent of all acids. Altogether, Mayow's experiments are full of interest for the modern chemist. By them he established the analogous nature of the phenomena of combustion and animal respiration. He found that by confining an animal in a limited quantity of air, the 'nitro-ærial spirit' was removed just in the same way as it was removed by burning a piece of camphor.

Unfortunately for the interests of science, Mayow's views did not obtain that amount of consideration which they undoubtedly merited; and it was not till a century after the publication of his *Tractatus* that the discovery of oxygen was simultaneously, but independently, made by the two great chemists Priestley and Scheele—a discovery which, along with the researches of Black, Lavoisier, and others, laid the foundation of our knowledge of the true composition of air. The date of this important discovery

was 1774. The discovery of *nitrogen* was made just two years earlier, viz., in 1772, by Professor Rutherford of Edinburgh. To Dr. Joseph Black, also of Edinburgh, we owe the discovery of carbon dioxide. As early as 1754, in his inaugural thesis, delivered as a graduate in medicine, Black described some experiments he had made with quicklime, which, he found, when exposed to the air, increased in weight and absorbed from the atmosphere a gas which he could again expel by heating the lime to redness. To this gas he gave the name 'fixed air,' and which we now call *carbon dioxide*.

From then up till now the composition of the air has been made the subject of many and elaborate researches, which have revealed, in addition to the presence of the above mentioned gases—viz., oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon dioxide,—traces of other gases, such as *ammonia* and other *nitrogen compounds*, as well as *ozone*, an allotropic modification of oxygen. These latter gases, however, it must be mentioned, are present in what, to the popular mind, is little more than infinitesimal amounts.

Again, thanks to the development of bacteriological science and the researches of investigators like Professor P. F. Frankland, we have discovered that the air is teeming with micro-organic life; while Mr. John Aitken, F.R.S., has shown, by most ingeniously contrived experiments, that every cubic inch of air contains millions of minute inorganic particles, which play an important part in the formation of fogs.

But of all the researches recently carried out, none exceed in interest those which have culminated in the reduction of air, not merely to the liquid but also to the solid state—a result which may fairly be regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of modern science. The bearing this achievement has had on certain scientific problems, of the first importance, invests these researches with added interest.

The possibility of the conversion of matter in the gaseous state into matter in the liquid state has long been recognised. As far back as the year 1801, Dalton predicted this conversion in the following memorable words—'There can scarcely be a doubt entertained respecting the reductibility of all elastic fluids of whatever kind into liquids; and we ought not to despair of it in low

temperatures and with strong pressure exerted on the unmixed gases. It was, however, precisely the production of these low temperatures and strong pressures that constituted the difficulty in realising this prediction; and twenty years elapsed before the first step towards its verification was taken by Faraday, who succeeded, in the year 1823, in liquefying chlorine, a gas so familiar to all as the great bleaching agent. Subsequently, by a series of brilliant experiments, he succeeded in reducing gas after gas to the liquid, and many, indeed, to the solid state. In his earlier experiments, pressure was the agent alone employed, as the means of producing excessively low temperatures were, at that time, unknown. It is, however, through the agency of extreme cold that the gases constituting the air have been liquefied.

The first to submit was carbon dioxide, which was frozen by Thilorier in 1835. At that time the lowest temperature which could be produced was 146° Fahr. (*i.e.* 178° of frost). Despite the fact that the means of producing such a low temperature were available, several gases for long resisted all efforts at liquefaction, and among them were the two atmospheric gases, oxygen and nitrogen. The belief that these gases could not be liquefied was for some time entertained. They were hence called 'permanent' gases but even these were destined to be subdued.

On the 22nd of December, 1887, a year which must for ever be memorable in the history of chemistry, the liquefaction of oxygen was announced as having been successfully accomplished. By a strange coincidence this great achievement was effected simultaneously by two investigators—M. Pictet of Geneva, and M. Cailletet of Paris, who, unknown to one another, had been devoting years of painstaking research to effect this object. The coincidence is rendered all the more striking when we remember that a similar coincidence is associated with the discovery of this gas in 1774 by Priestley and Scheele. The methods employed by both investigators were similar, and consisted in the combination of enormous pressure with very low temperatures. The oxygen gas, submitted to a pressure of five to six hundred atmospheres, and a temperature of 162° of frost was suddenly allowed to escape through a narrow aperture, and in so doing consumed such a quantity of heat as to condense a portion of the

gas. The liquefaction of nitrogen by the same experimenters soon followed.

It was left, however, to Professor Dewar of the Royal Institution, London, to perfect the methods for the production of these gases in the liquid state, in quantities sufficient to study their properties, and to reduce nitrogen and air to the liquid state. Professor Dewar's researches have been going on for some years now, but they were first made known to the general public on the occasion of the Faraday Centenary in 1891. The following short description, from a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, of Professor Dewar's lecture may be quoted:— 'The numerous audience' says the writer 'collected in the Theatre of the Royal Institution on Friday evening, June 26th, 1891, were amazed to see liquid oxygen freely on tap and drawn off, to a vulgar apprehension, *smoking hot*. In point of fact it was boiling at a temperature of 328° of frost, its steaming appearance being due to the conversion of the moisture in the surrounding air into ice particles through contact with the swiftly escaping gas. When cleared, by filtering through blotting paper, of some fine dust of carbonic acid gas, it wore the appearance of limpid light blue water. A few drops of it, however, thrown on genuine water fizzed and spluttered like red-hot iron plunged into a cool stream, and presently each one was seen floating about in a self-made cup of ice. Some alcohol poured into the mysterious liquid became promptly a solid block. Yet alcohol resists the sternest Arctic rigours, freezing indeed at 234° frost. Removed from the oxygen it thawed into a viscid substance, which could not be induced to burn until it had taken up heat enough to restore it to its normal condition.'

Among the most striking properties of liquid oxygen may be noticed its singular inertness. Thus such substances as phosphorus and potassium, which exhibit great affinity for this element in the gaseous form, are not acted upon when placed in liquid oxygen. Nothing, indeed, is more striking than this result, which points to the fact that matter at such low temperatures ceases to possess its ordinary chemical properties.

Nitrogen is more difficult to liquefy than oxygen, yet it is a striking fact that the two gases liquefy together, although they

evaporate separately. In the liquefaction of nitrogen and air, liquid oxygen was used by Professor Dewar for producing a sufficiently low temperature. This was boiled in vacuo, and the enormously low temperature of 340° of frost was obtained. Such a temperature is sufficient to effect the liquefaction of nitrogen and air at ordinary atmospheric pressure. But a still lower temperature has been obtained by Professor Dewar, viz., 378° of frost, and this temperature effects the solidification of nitrogen and air, a feat which was first accomplished at the beginning of last year. Frozen air, it may be mentioned, is a substance like ice. Although oxygen is more easily liquefied than nitrogen, all experiments have failed to freeze it. The difficulty which hampered Professor Dewar in his earlier experiments in investigating the properties of liquid oxygen was the violent ebullition which it underwent. This has been overcome by retaining it in vessels surrounded by vacuum spaces. Liquid oxygen in such vessels evaporates only comparatively slowly, and can be kept for some time. Another property of liquid oxygen is its magnetic character.

The extremely low temperatures which Professor Dewar has thus been able to command have been utilised by him in investigating the properties of matter under such conditions. Thus it has been found that the tensile strength of metals is very much increased, in some cases doubled. Of great interest too is the effect of cold on colour, many colours being changed by it. But what may be regarded by some to be of greatest interest, are the experiments which Professor M^cKendrick has carried out on the effect of such low temperatures on the spores of microbes and the seeds of plants, the results of which seem to show that such forms of life can survive under such conditions; a fact which gives plausibility to Lord Kelvin's theory of the meteoric origin of life on our globe.

When we consider the enormous amount of research which has been expended in investigating the composition of the air, and in measuring the exact proportions in which its component parts are present, it seems well nigh incredible that a constituent, present in such quantities as argon has been proved to be, should have so long escaped notice. It is often, however, the 'unex-

pected' that happens; and this holds true of discoveries in natural science, as well as of other things.

The history of the discovery of *Argon*, as the new element has been provisionally named, is striking, and illustrates how scientific discoveries are not made, as they are sometimes popularly believed to be, in a haphazard manner, but are the result, in nearly every case, of laborious and painstaking research.

The air, as we have already pointed out, is chiefly made up of nitrogen gas, an element so inert in its properties, that it was first called *azote*, that is, without life, when discovered by Professor Rutherford, at the close of last century. Unlike oxygen, the air's other chief constituent, it combines with very few substances. It may consequently be prepared from air, previously freed from water vapour and carbon dioxide, by combining the oxygen with any one of the many elements with which this singularly active body readily combines. What remains over after this treatment has hitherto been regarded as pure nitrogen. Lord Rayleigh, however, in the course of his delicate investigations on the densities of certain gases,—investigations which have been going on for a number of years now—found that nitrogen, obtained in this manner,—which we may call 'atmospheric' nitrogen,—was slightly denser than nitrogen obtained from its compounds,—or what we may term 'chemical' nitrogen. The difference in the density of these two kinds of nitrogen, it is true, was very slight,—'atmospheric' nitrogen being a half per cent. heavier than 'chemical' nitrogen—so slight indeed that it might well have seemed to come within the limits of experimental error. But, to so accurate a worker, and brilliant an experimentalist as Lord Rayleigh, the discrepancy was quite sufficient to arrest his attention and demand further investigation. Before, however, permitting himself to draw any conclusions from these results, he took the precaution of making sure that the discrepancy observed was not attributable to any impurities which had crept in, in the course of his experiments, such as the introduction of small quantities of some lighter gas, as, for example, hydrogen, into the less dense form of nitrogen. Having assured himself, however, that such was not the case, the obvious conclusion to be drawn from the facts observed was that 'atmos-

pheric' nitrogen was not, after all, what it had hitherto been believed to be, viz., pure nitrogen, but a mixture of nitrogen and some other unknown substance.

The next step in the discovery, therefore, was to separate this unknown substance from the 'atmospheric' nitrogen, and to study its nature and properties. The task, as it subsequently proved, was no easy one; and Lord Rayleigh has confessed that, of all the researches he has as yet undertaken, this one has proved the most arduous and difficult. The difficulty chiefly consisted in the fact that the new substance proved itself to be a body, so inert in its properties, that it could not be induced to combine with any substance.* Till now chemists have been wont to regard nitrogen as the typically inert element; compared with argon, however, it is positively active. Attempts made to combine it with oxygen, hydrogen, or with chlorine have proved vain. Phosphorus, sodium, and sulphur seem equally incapable to tempt the appetite of this singularly fastidious substance; and this despite the fact that they have been offered to it in their most attractive forms, and under conditions the most favourable for chemical action. It is well known that all the above mentioned bodies possess singular chemical activity, and readily combine with most elements, but all have been repulsed by argon. Indeed certain metals may be distilled in it without becoming tarnished.†

It may readily be imagined that to investigate the properties of a body, so exclusive in its tastes, and so inert in its properties, was truly an arduous task. In carrying out his researches, Lord Rayleigh has been associated with Professor William Ramsay, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in University College, London; while Professor Olszewski, of Cracow, a distinguished Polish chemist, has investigated the properties of the new sub-

* Since writing the above the distinguished French chemist, M. Berthelot, of Paris, has announced the interesting fact that he has succeeded in inducing argon to combine with carbon disulphid and mercury and with 'the elements of benzene with the help of mercury' under the influence of the silent electrical discharge vapour of benzene.

† Argon has been submitted to the action of titanium (a metal having a great affinity for nitrogen) at a red heat without being affected. M. Moissan has also recently found that fluorine is without action upon it.

stance at very low temperatures, and has succeeded in obtaining it in a liquid and solid state. Lastly, Mr. Crookes, F.R.S., has tested its spectrum.

Argon may be obtained from 'atmospheric' nitrogen by different methods.

Although nitrogen is singularly inert, it nevertheless does combine with certain substances; among which may be mentioned magnesium, aluminium, strontium, lithium, barium, titanium, etc. Of these, magnesium in a red hot condition has been found the most suitable substance to use. If, therefore, 'atmospheric' nitrogen be passed over red hot magnesium, it will combine with the magnesium and leave the argon in a pure condition behind. The process, however, is a slow one. Or again: nitrogen may be removed from the mixture by making it unite with oxygen under the influence of the electric spark—a process which takes place even more slowly than the one just mentioned. The latter method has long been known, and was used by the great English chemist, Cavendish, more than a century ago in his researches on air. Indeed, Cavendish may justly be described as having foreshadowed the discovery of argon, since he found in these researches, that he could not successfully remove, by sparking, all the nitrogen from the air, and that about $\frac{1}{120}$ th part of the whole remained over. This interesting fact Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay readily admit, and they take occasion to pay a very high tribute to the genius of their great predecessor.

Another method of proving the presence of argon in atmospheric nitrogen is by what is known as *atmolysis*. It has been found that if a mixture of two gases, of different densities, be permitted to diffuse through a porous substance, such as, for example, pipe clay, the lighter of the two gases will diffuse through itself at a greater rate than the heavier. By repeating such an experiment several times, the ultimate result will be the separation of the two gases. By taking advantage of this property of gases, and by passing 'atmospheric' nitrogen through a series of church-warden tobacco pipes—the porous material of which furnishes a suitable atmolyser—Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay have succeeded in obtaining a residual gas, of greater density than nitrogen. The argon, it may be added,

which has been obtained by these different methods, has been found to be similar in its properties. This is proved by its spectrum as obtained by the different methods, being the same.

Whether the substance is an element, that is, a body which cannot be split up into two or more substances, or not, is still doubtful. The evidence available, however, seems to point to the probability of its being an element * seeing that it is believed to be monatomic. The only difficulty so far as we can at present see, in assuming it to be an element, is our inability to classify it, according to the periodic law of the elements. In the belief that it is an element, the discoverers have given it the name argon (the Greek for inert or lazy) on account of its singularly inert properties. It is perhaps, however, not altogether correct to regard argon as a body of little chemical activity, since it may be, after all, that such bodies as nitrogen and argon, which exhibit so little chemical affinity for other bodies, are not really inactive bodies; but are truly more active than other bodies; since they are, as Professor Armstrong, the President of the Chemical Society, took occasion to remark, in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, so fond of themselves that they have no affinity left for outsiders. But this point is one which scarcely admits of discussion here.

The density of Argon is approximately represented by the figure 20 as compared with hydrogen—nitrogen being 14 and oxygen 16. One hundred parts of water at $13.9^{\circ}\text{C}.$, absorbs 4 parts by volume of Argon. It is thus about as soluble in water as oxygen, and two and a half times as soluble as nitrogen. In appearance, it is hardly necessary to say, it is a colourless gas, indistinguishable from the air, of which it forms probably only about one per cent.†

* This belief is largely supported by what is known as 'the ratio of the specific heats.'

† Some most interesting results have been obtained by Professor Olszewski on the behaviour of the new gas at very low temperatures. It is possible, as we have pointed out in the preceding portion of this article, to liquefy all gases. In this department of research Professor Olszewski is known as one of the most brilliant and successful experimenters. On receiving a quantity of Argon from its discoverers, he succeeded in both liquefying and solidifying it. It forms a bluish liquid, and, in the solid state, white crystals.

The question of whether Argon may not be what chemists term an 'allotropic' modification of nitrogen—a more condensed form of nitrogen, as ozone is a more condensed form of oxygen—has been raised. This view at first sight seems to be suggested by the density of the new gas, which approximates to the theoretical density of such a condensed form of nitrogen (*viz.*, 21). If this were so, however, a nearer approximation to 20 than 19.8 should surely be got by repeated careful determination. Other difficulties are also in the way of such a supposition, such as the ratio of specific heat and the amount of cooling required to condense it.* It would therefore seem highly probable that Argon is really a new element. Granting this, the question which naturally first occurs to the ordinary mind is—What is it good for? We must, however, be content to wait a little longer for an answer to this question. Indeed, if we judge by the analogy of nitrogen, it may be a very long time before we discover what functions Argon performs in the terrestrial economy. Nitrogen has been discovered for more than 100 years to be a constituent of the air, and yet it is only within the last few years that we have been able to ascribe any important rôle to this most abundant air constituent. The only function it was for long believed to perform was to dilute the oxygen. We have recently discovered, however, that it performs a most important part in promoting vegetable growth, by supplying, to a large number of plants, the nitrogen which is an indispensable ingredient of their food. Nor must it be imagined that the quantity in which Argon is present in the air is too small in amount to have much effect on terrestrial life. We must remember that carbon dioxide, a constituent which is only one-twentieth as abundant in the air as Argon, is absolutely essential to the existence of vegetable life.

One discovery, it has often been found, leads to another, and it is gratifying to be able to report that this has been exemplified in the case of the discovery of Argon. Professor Ramsay, while searching for chemical combinations of Argon, was led to inves-

* There seems to be no doubt now that Argon is not an allotropic modification of nitrogen.

tigate the composition of a gas which was given off when Clèveite, a rare Norwegian mineral, was boiled with weak sulphuric acid. The result of the examination not merely showed the presence of Argon in the gas, but also of another body which had hitherto been known in solar chemistry only, viz., *Helium*.* The discovery of terrestrial Helium, while not calculated to excite the same public interest as that of Argon, has possibly created almost as much stir in scientific circles. Subsequent research has demonstrated the presence of both Argon and Helium in a meteorite which fell in Augusta County, Virginia—a fact which points to the existence of both substances in stellar atmospheres. Helium, in several respects, seems to resemble Argon. It resists, like Argon, sparking with oxygen in presence of caustic soda, is unattacked by red-hot magnesium, and is probably also a monatomic gas.

In conclusion, it would seem as if these two remarkable discoveries are destined to lead to yet a third, since examination of the spectra of Argon and Helium suggests the presence of an unknown constituent gas, common to both, which, however, yet awaits isolation.

C. M. AIKMAN.

ART. III.—CROMWELL BEFORE EDINBURGH, 1650: 'GOGAR FEIGHT.'

IT is with mingled feelings of pride and humiliation that the patriotic Scottish reader of history must to this day look back upon the narrative of Oliver Cromwell's campaigning in the Lothians between the last days of July and the first days of September, 1650. The story of that brief period is perhaps,

* Helium was discovered by means of the spectroscope in the solar chromosphere during the eclipse of 1868 by Professors Norman Lockyer, and Frankland.

indeed, not very generally borne in mind at the present day. It is (in the words of the advertisement, drawn out in the beginning of this century, to a collection of official and other documents bearing upon it) 'a point of Scottish history, the details of which have been generally regarded as singularly obscure;' and it remains, despite the light thrown upon it by that publication and by Thomas Carlyle in his pious pilgrimage across 'the Le'he-swamps and Tartarean Phlegethons,' unfamiliar enough to most people. Yet the leading facts of it—that Cromwell was out-generalled in his four weeks' prowl round Edinburgh by 'cautious David Lesley,' and yet wondrously retrieved himself, by a combination of good luck and good guidance, at Dunbar immediately afterwards—cannot but be generally known. They fill one even now with a kind of chagrin, as one reflects that only a single day's continuance in those waiting tactics which had reduced Cromwell to the direst straits on the eve of 'Dunbar Drove,' would to a certainty, humanly speaking, have secured for Leslie the reward of patience in victory over the invader.

Of course this is an absurd way in which to look back across the intervening centuries. We ought by this time of day fully to have recognised that the chastisement then meted out to Scotland was all for Scotland's good. As a matter of fact, indeed, no one would nowadays dream of denying that the success of Cromwell's arms alone made possible an era of government that was highly beneficial to this northern end of our island. In the spiritual and ethical aspect of the case, too, everyone is in duty-bound to acquiesce in the view that Dunbar Drove, and after it Worcester Fight, were merited humiliations, bringing as they did to its only fitting conclusion the struggle between the supporters of a 'Solecism incarnate'—your Covenanted Charles II.—and the upholders of the truer divine right. Far be it from us, then, seriously to traverse Carlyle's characteristically dogmatic but clear-sighted pronouncement upon that vital point. Yet there remains, to sway our judgment in our lighter moods, the Old Adam of what would nowadays be called 'particularist' prepossessions; and it is still possible so far to enter into the feelings of our

forefathers of the time in question as even now to entertain and give vent to a grudge against the success achieved in the long run by Cromwell. On the earlier passages, in fine, of the campaign of which 'the dismall route of Dunbar' suddenly and completely altered the complexion, we dwell with a certain melancholy satisfaction. If ultimate victory did not attend Leslie and his forces, they secured at all events the consolation of Daniel Dravot, in that they had 'had a dashed fine run for their money.' 'They got us into a pound, as they reckoned,' narrates Hodgson, one of Cromwell's officers, in speaking of 'the poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army'—again this frank subordinate's words—which lay hemmed in at Dunbar that 'drakie' * September night.

If the tactics by which Leslie had reduced his opponents to the condition just described were not heroic, they were the traditional ones by which, ever since the Wars of Independence, Scotland had time after time been enabled to hold her own against her stronger southern neighbour; and they have, as such, a distinct claim upon our notice. Indeed, the indications contained in the records of the campaign which go to show this survival, in the middle of the seventeenth century, of the accustomed Scottish method of coping with an English invasion, are amongst the most interesting points that a study of the subject brings to light. As at the date of Flodden, and long before and after, our forefathers trusted largely on this occasion to emptying the country-side of all food-supplies in advance of the enemy as he marched northwards. Carlyle has preserved some memorial of the disappearance of the population from before the face of the invading Parliamentarians; but closer acquaintance with the authority whom he quotes as telling how some of the gude wives did after all stay behind to brew and bake for the English, and as giving a contemptuous picture of the population—'much enslaved to their lords,' and therefore ready to betake themselves from their habitations in obedience to orders—is worth having for the sake of its testimony to the 'Englisches' rather naïf

* Nicoll.

astonishment at their reception. The invaders seem to have been taken somewhat by surprise on finding to what extent the country they came through had been denuded of all means of maintaining life. The letters 'from the front,' as we should say, which are summarised from day to day in Whitelocke's *Memorials*, relate with a sense of wonder that evidently lingers even on the condensing pen of 'heavy Bulstrode,' how that all the Scots' 'goods and household stuff were carried away, except a few oats and meal, and a little beer hid under coals, which the soldiers made use of;' and 'that in their march from Berwick to Edinburgh the army did not meet with ten men.' The statement immediately following upon the latter of those two—'that one of the Parliament's soldiers chased ten Scots, and divers of them were taken prisoners,'—may, if we like, be taken only as showing the thoroughness of the Scots' determination to carry out the order bidding all grown men avoid the presence of the enemy. Elsewhere we read of 'the wretched country people who had hid themselves in coal-pits at the coming of our men;' and great was the invaders' wonderment later on at further signs of the sacrifices which the Scots had made rather than have their crops benefit an enemy. Whitelocke mentions that 'in those parts where the army marched'—from the date, this would appear to refer more particularly to the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh—'was the greatest plenty of corn that they ever saw, and not one fallow field, and now extremely trodden down and wasted, and the soldiers enforced to give the wheat to their horses.' Thus thoroughly had Leslie acted upon the established precedent of leaving an invader to fend for himself in the matter of provisions—a design which the bad weather assisted, as we know, by endangering the vessels that brought food to the English from Newcastle and other southern ports, and so crippling Cromwell's commissariat.

If Leslie followed up this excellent defensive stratagem by keeping resolutely within his lines at Edinburgh, and resisting every temptation to risk a decisive battle beyond the walls, all honour to him therefor. That 'cautious solid manner' of his appears, indeed, to have struck the English as singularly

unsportsmanlike. It was in contrast, certainly, to the vigorous, if primitive, strategy usually affected by both sides in the English Civil Wars. The 'general maxim' of Cavaliers and Roundheads alike (as is remarked by that one of the former body whose *Memoirs* Defoe evolved out of his own inner consciousness) was: 'Where is the enemy? Let us go and fight them. Or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, what was to be done? Why, what should be done? Draw out into the field, and fight them. I cannot say' (continues the same expert critic) 'that it was the prudence of the parties . . . and I can remark several times, when the eagerness of fighting was the worst counsel, and proved our loss.' No such mistake was made by Leslie, at all events. If the English (again to quote Defoe's Cavalier) 'never encamped or entrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers or defiles,' he, trained in a Continental school of arms, better knew the value of such precautions. It was by means of them that he baffled Cromwell for a month on end, and compelled him finally to retreat hopelessly to his ships.

It may be that this his 'masterly inactivity' was not quite to the liking of everyone in the Scotch camp. The glimpses that we have of King Charles II. at this time, for instance, lead one to think that his Covenanted Majesty was ill-satisfied with the conduct of the Scotch troops. We have Cromwell's own report of a rumour to that effect; and, according to the Cromwellian 'Relation of the Fight at Leith,' Charles dubbed his valiant defenders 'his Green Hornes' when he saw the way in which they were beaten back to their trenches on attempting a sally as the English retired from the assault. The statement, moreover, of Sir James Balfour, the then Lyon King of Arms, that, 'sore against his anen mynd,' the King 'was moved by his counsell and the generall persons of the army, to reteire himselfe to Dunfermlinge' in the early days of August, seems almost to hint that anxiety to be rid of him and his criticisms was what weighed, at least as much as care for the safety of his sacred person, with those 'generall persons.' There were plenty of hot heads, no doubt, to support

Charles in advising more Rupert-like tactics, one of whom we may take to have been the Cavalier slain in the night-attack at Musselburgh, whose thoughts flew back to Charles the Martyr as he died, and led to his going out of the world with these words (worthy to be the refrain of a Browningesque 'Cavalier Tune') on his lips—'*Damme, I'll go to my King!*'

The Kirk party, again, seems throughout this campaign to have been of a more impatient temper than the canny Leslie. Whether or not the ministers deserve the blame so often meted out to them for having disastrously, as it is declared, precipitated matters at Dunbar—where, by the way, it is at all events clear that their ill-timed insistence upon the need of 'purging' the Scotch army of all 'Malignants,' helped greatly to ruin the *morale* of the troops—certain it is that the most active offensive step actually taken against Cromwell at this time was due to their initiative. This was the vigorous sortie to Musselburgh on the last night of July, after Cromwell had made his vain attempt upon the Scotch entrenchments between Edinburgh and Leith, and fallen back to the old burgh which saw so much of him and his men. The assault was, it appears, led by the Kirk's own 'pickt' regiment; there is some word of a couple of ministers having been in the thick of it in person; and the credit of an exploit in which Cromwell's quarters were beaten up to some purpose rests with the men as to whose ill-advised counsels at other times something has just been said.

But Leslie's waiting game clearly was the one to play in the circumstances. Cromwell seems quickly to have realised that the trenches 'cast,' in the words of Nicoll the diarist, 'fra the fute of Caanogait to Leith'—the lines of which were plainly to be seen a century later, by the way, as the veracious memoirs of 'David Balfour' remind us—were not to be carried out of hand. He was not among the 'barbarous wretches' of Ireland now, as he had been earlier in the year; and his anxiety (evident in all ways) to be as conciliatory as possible towards the Scotch, may have helped in determining him not to renew the cannonade on their position by which he had at his first coming tried to capture it. (It is interesting, by the

bye, to note that the assault he then made on the Scotch lines was reinforced by a bombardment from the sea; for 'Captaine Hall, reere-Admirall, being come up with the *Liberty*, the *Heart* frigot, the *Garland* and the *Dolphin*, plaid hard with their ordnance into Leith.') A direct storming assault, again, such as Cromwell had delivered with cruel effect wherever he went in Ireland, was out of the question. Hence the adoption of other tactics which point to his having had some idea of beating Leslie at his own game. He could not capture the Scotch defences by storm, and he therefore sat down to wait. It must have seemed a forlorn enough enterprise, to reduce Leslie to extremities by starvation while the Parliamentarians could watch no more than one side of Edinburgh at a time, (though they held, to be sure, command of the sea) and had to reckon with forces larger than their own lying within the walls. Yet the sole hope of the Cromwellians seems to have been in their power to force on a battle by such means, and we find them as August goes on catching eagerly at rumours that 'the enemy are reduced to extremity for want of provisions,' and that 'divers women and others got away at night from Leith by land and water and steal (*sic*) back into the country, whereby we perceive they are in some straits' from the same cause. Carlyle's statement that the English plan of campaign was thus intended is amply confirmed in the account given by an authority whom the compiler of the *Letters and Speeches* seems to have overlooked. Indeed, the contemporary *Diary* of John Nicoll—a very precise and painstaking chronicler of current events—enables us perhaps better than any other authority to piece together, so to speak, the chronology of Cromwell's strategical resolves. We may suppose two or three days to have been spent by Cromwell in considering the position after the repulse before the Leith Walk trenches and the counter-repulsé of the night attack on Musselburgh. By the 5th or 6th of August, at any rate, the English were back at Dunbar, 'quhair thair schips being than rydand,' says Nicoll, 'they resavit from theme fresche vivers and amunition in abundance; and immediatlie thaireftir, within twa or thrie days, marched bak to Mussilburgh and fra

thence to Dudingstoun and alongis to Colingtoun and about.' This we may take to have been a preliminary reconnaissance set on foot in order to find out how the country west and south of Niddrie, in which village the Cromwellians had already lain, might suit for the furthering of the purpose by this time presumably simmering in their General's brain. The exploration of the 'foot-hills' of the Pentlands was evidently satisfactory from that point of view; for 'upone the 11 day of August 1650, being ane Saboth day . . . the enymie cumed bak fra Braides Crages * quhair he was than lying and returned to Mussilburgh to set down his Leagure thair till Tysday thaireftir; and then removed from Mussilburgh, and returned bak to Braides Craiges, bringing with him great quantiteis of victuell, quhilk he had takin out of the mylnes, killis, and bernis of Mussilburgh and uther pairtes thairabout.' Nicoll is corroborated in this account by a contemporary Cromwellian letter ('Muscleburgh,' Aug. 16th) given in the *Mercurius Politicus* newspaper, which, with some slight variation of dates—(readily intelligible in the light of our footnote)—shows that the invaders were preparing for a stay on the 'Pentlands' by taking '6 or 7 dayes Provisions' there. And a further important inkling of Cromwell's 'general idea' is to be found in the express statement of the letter just quoted from, that he 'intended that night' (the 13th) 'to have gone to Queensferry.' This points to the daring design of taking a vantage ground thus far up the Firth, which would enable the Parliamentarians not only to cut off Leslie's supplies very effectually, but to secure the landing of their own on the west instead of the east side of Edinburgh. The badness of the 'passes' or roads, and 'other considerations,' we read, 'diverted that designe for that time;' but that it was not wholly given over will be evident from one later circum-

* Nicoll is rather less 'precise' on this point than we could have wished him to be. On that 11th of August the English were in reality returning to Musselburgh, from Dunbar, after replenishing their commissariat there. It was only on the 13th that they went to 'Braides Crages' for the first time; and the return to Musselburgh for a further supply of provisions should really be dated the 15th.

stance which we have yet to bring to light and give (as we believe, for the first time) * its proper place in the history of the campaign. In the meantime, however, we see Cromwell—thus far fortified, by the supplies requisitioned at Musselburgh, for the delays he knew he had to encounter in the absence of any prospect of getting ‘in hoults’ with the Scotch—setting himself to his weary task on this 13th of August, in a commanding position ‘overlooking the Fife and Stirling roads.’

Of the exact movements of the Scotch forces we have, oddly enough, no equally detailed account. Balfour, indeed, speaks of their drawing ‘fourth of ther trinchies’ and marching after the enemy towards Corstorphine, in the same sentence in which he narrates Cromwell’s passage to ‘Colentoun’ on ‘the 13 day.’ On the other hand, it is not till the 18th or 19th of the month that we hear of some of their cavalry appearing ‘on the west side of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the sea’—about Coltbridge and Murrayfield, as one may guess. The same Cromwellian authority only speaks of the whole Scotch army drawing out of Leith, moreover, on the 20th, and concludes by mentioning how even then they retreated back to that town. But we may take it that within a very few days of Cromwell’s lodgment on the south side of the town, he had the defenders facing him on the slopes of Murrayfield and Corstorphine hill. There ensued a period of exactly a fortnight’s intermittent skirmishing, varied in one way by overtures and conferences on the Boroughmuir regarding a settlement, and in another by the siege and storm of Redhall, and ended by an afternoon’s inconclusive cannonading at Gogar. Those latter incidents fully deserve to engage our attention in what space remains, if only because one traces a connection between the two, indirect but interesting. The Scotch and English armies lay on the opposite sides of the strath of the Water of Leith, in their respective strengths of Corstorphine and ‘Pentland’ (*i.e.*, the slopes of the Braids, the sweet dingle of Colinton, and Craiglockhart hill, too, be-like). Each was too strongly posted for the other to assail it.

* Dr. S. R. Gardiner has, however, forestalled us in the last volume of his *History of the Civil War*, published since this paper was written.

If Leslie lay snug on the strong vantage ground of Corstorphine hill and its south-eastward slopes, Cromwell was secure in a similar position; 'haiffing,' as old Nicoll puts it, 'the advantage of the ground and hillis about him for his defence.' It may be fancied, however, that it was only the disparity of numbers which kept valiant Noll from trying to dislodge and defeat his opponent. His troops—all that he had to count on, for of reinforcements from the south we hear nothing—were some 16,000 all told, and sickness and casualties seem to have lost him the services of a considerable percentage of those. Leslie had probably well over 20,000 troops of all arms, and the odds, therefore, were in his favour. That the difference in numbers would have warranted him in taking the offensive we do not affirm. On the contrary, as things stood, he was playing his cards exceedingly well. 'Pickering' or 'puckering'—what we should nowadays call skirmishing and reconnoitring—was the sum of the active work that went on for some days, and the Water of Leith, in our day a stream more useful than ornamental, found itself for once in its history a waterway of some strategic importance. Such affairs of outposts as went on must have been fought chiefly at its fords. We get a glimpse of one in a passage of a contemporary 'Relation of the Campaign,' which tells how the cavalry already mentioned as having appeared on the west side of Edinburgh before the general move of Leslie's troops thither, 'pickered in the sight of our army,' 'having the advantage of a passe over the river (which they supposed our designe was to take.)' Whether this so far disputed 'passe' was the bridge which, even then, carried the westward road over the Water of Leith at Coltbridge, or a ford at Saughton or Gorgie, or (further up still) that one which to this day gives a name to Slateford, cannot now be known. The chances are (even though one cannot in that case quite account for the narrator's note having used the more definite word) that it was the bridge first named. For it was by the road on which Coltbridge is an important connecting point that the Scotch troops must have come westwards, and the intention of any 'designe to take the passe' on Cromwell's part could only be that of

cutting off their retreat by the way they had ridden. If so, there may after all be something in the tradition mentioned by James Grant in his *Old and New Edinburgh* that Cromwell found a dwelling-place one night about this time in Roseburn House. It is quite possible that he did hazard some such stay, at comparatively a long distance from his headquarters, for reconnoitring purposes.

It is, however, with the 'passe' at Slateford that the narrative of these events is more intimately concerned. Only a glance at a county map is needed to show why we say so. Bearing in mind what has been said above as to Cromwell's design in posting himself where he did, let the reader briefly study the topography of the locality until he discern that the straightest road between the Braids and the nearest point at which Cromwell could cross and hold the Stirling and Ferry roads lay across Slateford. It only then remains, ere we come to the forward movement fruitlessly attempted by Cromwell in pursuance of his intentions, to explain how it happened that that movement was delayed until the date with which Carlyle must have familiarised the student of this period—August the 27th. It was not, we may be sure, on account of such 'pickering neere Collingtoun,' as is mentioned as having occurred two days later than the (?) Coltbridge skirmish already referred to. Nor was the delay caused by Cromwell's waiting for tidings of the enemy's having 'drawne out severall waies towards Sterling, towards the provisions.' There was news of that on the 21st if Cromwell had been waiting for it, and then surely, if ever, was his chance to intercept a commissariat train. Yet he stirred not till nearly a whole week later. What detained him was, to be brief, the obstacle offered by the Laird of Redhall, who held out valiantly in his garrisoned house against the invaders, 'gallit his sodgeris' (in the words of admiring John Nicoll), 'and pat thame bak severall tymes with the los of sindry sodgeris.'

Of this Redhall (in some sort the Basing House of this northern war), and its gallant resistance to continued attack, we cannot now tell in detail. The curious may be referred for the full story to the pages of Nicoll. The importance of

the siege, which appears to have lasted in an acute stage for a whole week ere Cromwell effected a breach and stormed the place, lies, from our present point of view, in topographical considerations. A hostile Redhall was not only annoying to the 'Englisches,' as Nicoll points out, because of their lying so near it: it was formidable to Cromwell as 'ane impediment in his way' of a sort that Nicoll perhaps had not thought about when he penned those words. For the house lay hard by Slateford, and supposing a reinforcement to its 'thriescoir sodgeris,' put in by hook or crook, they would have been a nucleus of resistance, placing out of the question any such advance westwards as Cromwell had in contemplation. He had to be sure of his route back to his principal camp at Braid in the event of his being compelled ultimately to retreat. To have left Redhall occupied by a Scotch force, able in such a contingency to dispute with him the passage of the Slate Ford, might have meant utter ruin. Not therefore till he got rid of Redhall* as not only an actual but a potential 'impediment,' could he set about the last desperate business he had on hand.

That once done, and his retreat secured in case of more than probable non-success, the time had come for Cromwell's trying his fortune in the regions beyond Corstorphine Hill and its inactive but watchful army of defenders. It is well enough known what the issue turned out to be, at 'Gogar Feight;' but those designs of the Lord General which were there totally frustrated have never yet, so far as we can find, been discerned in their fullest extent. Cromwell's own despatch of the 30th August, and those written by his Generals, speak of no more than a desire to see, once and for all, whether the Scotch could not be persuaded to engage. But, though this larger project is nowhere expressly stated in print—as indeed it is but natural that Cromwell should have kept silence when nothing had come of it—there are the best of reasons for

* All necessary confirmation of this view of the strategic importance of the place in question is to be found in a Cromwellian letter, which states that 'the House is occupied by a party of ours, it being of great concernment in order to a passe towards Queen's Ferry.'

supposing he was still half-hoping by this march to effect the lodgment on the Firth above Edinburgh, at Queensferry for choice, which we have seen him to have had in view earlier. How otherwise did it come about that on this 27th of August, 'Mr Rushworth . . . was up the *Frith* with provisions, almost at *Queensferry*?'* The Secretary would hardly have risked, of his own notion, a distant cruise in waters not by any means free from hostile craft. He must have been under orders to do so, 'with provisions;' and that he should have been on the Firth shows clearly enough, we take it, that his chief still cherished the ulterior design of establishing himself far up the shores of the Forth, in the event of his being able to outflank Leslie's position on Corstorphine hill and so make his way to the sea. It was a gallant idea; and success in the scheme would certainly have forced on, sooner than it did actually come about, the battle for which the Parliamentarians were longing and praying.

The first thing to be discovered, however, was what sort of answer Leslie would make to this advance of his enemies. The Parliamentarians had not long to wait for it. From the hillside looking down over the strath, and from the strath looking up to the hillside, the two armies must respectively have had a clear view of one another's movements. Setting out in the full hope of a general engagement before sunset, Cromwell's men may be imagined as splashing gleefully enough through the Slate Ford. It is recorded that 'divers' of them had 'cast away their bisket, with their tents, out of a confidence they should then fight,'—a waste of scarce provender perhaps permissible if their leaders were counting on those supplies of Rushworth's, far ahead, and resolved to make their way to where they would be accessible. From the water of Leith the English may have marched on that bee-line, already spoken of, which in its north-westward extension crossed the point of junction of the Linlithgow-Stirling and Bathgate-Airdrie roads, and, continued straight onwards in the same direction, terminated at which we conceive to have

* *Mercurius Politicus*, where the date is (obviously wrongly, from the context) given as the 28th.

been Cromwell's ultimate objective—Queensferry. Or they may have made more of a detour westwards along the valley, wheeling due north, from somewhere near the present Gogar railway station, when Leslie's intentions became clear. Either route is compatible with the statement that the opposing armies marched 'side by side' westwards; but the latter is the more likely one to have been taken, in order that it might arouse alarm and suspicion in the Scotch camp. In any case, the two forces impinged upon each other at just the point which a study of Cromwell's intentions would have led one to anticipate. Leslie had descended the hill and moved westward; and the necessity of covering the junction of the high roads above mentioned, not less than the circumstance that the nature of the ground at that point suited his plans, determined his taking up position at Gogar.

He had not had far to come to find ground still more inaccessible to a numerically weaker enemy than even the slopes of Corstorphine. Difficult though it may now be to conjure up an exact picture of the locality as it was in those days, it is easily to be gathered that the 'fenny' character of it (to quote the adjective in one English account of the affair) afforded just such a stronghold as favoured Leslie's plan of action. Certain words already quoted are almost exactly applicable here: he had the advantage of lying 'fenced with rivers and defiles.' It would be idle to pretend at this time of day to pronounce with exactitude which particular piece of water it was that stalled off Cromwell's advance. That task may be left to the 'antiquarian topographer' to whose notice Carlyle long since recommended this day's doings. Let him note (if he have eyes for them) the large and aged willows which remain even now scattered here and there over the corner of land between the northward-flowing Almond and its tributary the Gogar burn—relics which testify to the marshy character of the ground thereaway ere it became, as now, well tilled land. Let him bear in mind (as it is little likely he will miss doing) the history of the Lamp burning o' nights in olden times at Corstorphine Kirk hard by, to be a guide to travellers belated in the surrounding bogs; and gather from that that

the low-lying fields skirting the west side of Corstorphine hill were kittle ground for a single wayfarer in those times, let alone an army. These two sign-posts, so different in their way, indicate roughly the place where Leslie lay in his fastness, with swamps along his front and flanks, and only at one place a narrow neck of hard ground (as we gather) leading across them. More precisely still, our topographer will very probably determine, after study of the contemporary map of 'Lothian and Linlithgow' published in an Amsterdam atlas, and conveniently reprinted in our own country within the last three years, that this neck of land was between Gogar burn and the large sheet of water figured there as extending westwards from Corstorphine Kirk to within a short distance (allowing for the vagueness of the seventeenth century cartographer and the poverty of his resources for exact definition) of the stream. The inquirer is not bound down to anything by the possibly absurd tradition that a field somewhat to the west of this got its name of 'The Flashes' from the Scotch General of Artillery having in this action put in use there, for the very first time, new cannon of surprising power—though, if the legend were true,* it would be a 'document' tending to confirm this conjectural account, since 'the Flashes' must have been within cannon-shot of the neck of ground just alluded to.

There, or thereabouts, at all events, the English found their plans entirely frustrated by what one of them calls 'this very unexpected hand of Providence'—the intervention, to wit, of the bogs. There 'was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse,' says this authority, 'that it was impossible to pass over.' 'The ground was so fenny that the *Horse* fell in,' is the graphic, if terse, explanation given by the *Mercurius Politicus* on the strength of other 'reports.' 'A passe, where there was a boggy ground of each side,' is another Cromwellian General's description of Leslie's vantage-ground; and perhaps as definite an account as any is the rather quaint one contained in another part of the newspaper already quoted.

* And James Grant's reminder that the cannonade went on in the dusk lends it some colour, not to say picturesqueness.

'There was a *deepe passe* betweene them, very disadvantageous to the *first Attempter*. The Scots army stood in *Battalia* on the advantageous side of the *Passe*.' It was, in one way of looking at it, the irony of fate. Here was Cromwell, the fenman, brought by his destiny to the land of brown heath and shaggy wood; and a piece of country that cannot but have reminded him of his native Huntingdon, sufficed to send agee all his well-laid plans! The rebuff may well have seemed fatal at the time. No road was now open save that of retreat. At Gogar there was but the poor consolation (recorded by Hodgson) of dispersing by cannon shot certain Scotch skirmishers who had occupied 'some sheep-folds between the armies'—an occurrence which led to the raising of that English shout of which Carlyle, by a stretch of imagination, speaks as 'making their Castle rocks and Pentland's ring again.' An interchange of artillery fire at long range until dusk, renewed for a brief hour the following morning, was all that could be attempted. Leslie the patient had triumphed for the present; and there was nothing left for it but the homeward road to Dunbar and (could the English have foreseen it) 'one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people, this War.'

It is curious to reflect that those left behind, victims to Colonel James Weemyss' 'light ordinance shooting from ane quarter of ane pund bullet to ane demi-cannon that carries a threttie tuo pund shot, and other engynes of war,' may, for aught we know, have mingled their dust with that of a people very much more ancient. For the district around is singularly rich in memorials of the dead who died ere history was. The cists and other remains found in notable numbers in the fields about the junction of the Almond and Gogar waters, bear witness to the past existence of 'a densely-populated province immediately to the south of the wall of Antoninus.' And (though it is an idle fancy enough), as one looks about one on the spot where, in the most northerly of those fields, stands the 'Catstane,' well known to antiquaries, there is every temptation to forget the interesting early Christian inscription on that old-time sepulchral monument, and think of the hoary boulder, instead, as a possible memorial of the Cromwellian skirmish fought not so far away..

WILLIAM S. DOUGLAS.

ART. IV.—THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT AND THE FIRST CRUSADE.

THIS is a year of centenaries. For England it is the sixth centenary of what is, in some respects, her first true parliament—a parliament brought into being by her greatest king, the hero of the Last Crusade. For Italy it is the third centenary of the death of her greatest epic poet, the Homer of the First Crusade. For France and Western Europe generally it has a higher interest still; for next November will be the eighth centenary of the Council of Clermont—the starting-point of the First Crusade and all later ones: the origin of a movement which was as potent in its effect upon the mediæval world as the French Revolution has been upon the modern.

Like the Revolution of 1789 the Crusades were essentially French in their inception and mainly French in their execution. But, like the Great Revolution, they affected other lands profoundly. In France, towards the close of the eleventh century, population was constantly tending to outgrow the actual produce, if not the latent capacity of the soil. Hence for eighty years before the First Crusade she had been sending out swarms of adventurers to South and North and East. Nor were these movements confined to the greater expeditions such as those which, under Robert Guiscard, conquered Southern Italy or, under William of Normandy conquered Southern Britain. Already in 1018 had Roger de Toeny left his Norman home 'to slay the Saracen in Spain.'* There, too, half a century later wandered his son Ralph, the standard-bearer of the same duchy—the hero who refused to carry the Duke's banner at Hastings on the plea that his right hand could find better work upon that fateful day.† To Spain too went William of Aquitaine with many a Southern knight to

* *Adhemar of Chabannais ap. Pertz Scriptores Rer. Germ.*, Vol. IV., p. 140; Cf. *Ord. Vitalis*, I., 180, II., 64.

† *Orderic Vitalis*, (ed. Le Prévost), II., pp. 148, 141; Wace, *Roman de Rou* ed. Andresen.

win Barbastro from the Moors.* Nor could the First Crusade itself entirely turn men's thoughts from the Ebro to the Jordan. Twice in the course of a long life did the ex-Crusader Rotrode Count of Mortaigne, the stepson of our English Henry I, go there to help his cousin King Alfonso.† It was a French noble who laid the foundations of modern Portugal; it was a Norman knight who rebuilt the ruined city of Tarragona; and it was a Norman lady who, like a second Camilla clad in coat of mail and warrior's helm, paced the city ramparts in her lord's absence to guard them from surprise.‡

To Constantinople the French flocked in greater numbers still. Thither went Ursel of Balliol,§ the ill-fated King-maker of the Eastern Empire; thither went Robert Guiscard's nephew Harvey, and his son Guy. There too was Robert Crispin,|| member of a house so famous in the annals of France and Normandy—the typical soldier of fortune of his age—who had fought against the Moors in Spain; against the Greeks in Italy; and against the Turks in Asia Minor—closing his adventurous life in the Imperial city, cut off by Greek poison at the very summit of his success.** There too flocked the English exiles after Hastings; and there, last of all, went one whose name, flashing across the pages of a monkish rhetorician, serves to remind us that even the most tasteless of monastic compilers had a human heart within his breast: for Constantinople gave a welcome to Guibert de Nogent's boy-playmate Matthew—the Bayard of his time and country—over whose martyr-death Guibert mourns with such unaffected sorrow.†† And the same movement may be traced beyond the bounds of Christendom into lands that owed obedience to the Seljuk Turk. The hand of William the Conqueror stretched far, and

* *Chronicon Sancti Mazentii Pictavensis*, (ed. Marchegai), p. 403.

† *Ord. Vit.*, V., p. 2, 3, 5.

‡ *Ord. Vit.*, V., pp. 8-12.

§ *Michael Attaliotes*, (ed. Bonn), pp. 148, 183, etc.

|| *Michael Attal.*, pp. 122, 144, etc.

** *De Genere nobili Crispinorum ap. Migne*. Vol. CL., p. 147; *Aimé Histoire de li Normant*, pp. 12-13.

†† *Guibert de Nogent Gesta Dei per Francos*, Bk. IV., *cid.*, c. 18.

his anger burned to the utmost limit of the Latin world. As Robert of Normandy was pitching his tents outside Jerusalem an Arab-speaking knight came up, offering service as if to one who was his natural lord. Robert welcomed the stranger, who soon unfolded the secret of his life. He was Hugh Budnel the Norman, who being wronged by the Countess Mabel of Belesme, had forced his way into her chamber and there stabbed her as she lay upon her couch weak from the exhaustion of a bath. From Normandy the assassin fled to his fellow-Normans in Apulia; from Apulia to Sicily; from Sicily to Constantinople. But everywhere he found a French-speaking world about him; and the Conqueror's envoys plotted the fugitive's destruction in the Eastern Rome as though it had been Rouen itself. At last, Hugh was driven to take refuge with the Saracens; and lived among them, speaking their language till, tiring of his long exile, he came to crave forgiveness for his crime from William's son, Robert, in the camp before Jerusalem.* To such an extent had the French-speaking race spread itself over Southern Europe in days before the First Crusade. It was the Council of Clermont, leading up as it did to that Crusade, that in some sense put an end to the movements of which we have been speaking, though in another sense it started them on a fresh and far more vigorous career. Till 1095 these movements were sporadic, desultory, almost individual; after that date they at least tended to become definite in aim, national and at times almost œcumenical.

Urban II. must have been astonished at the success which attended his exhortations at the Council of Clermont. Those who study the decrees of this council and that of Piacenza, cannot help noticing how the Crusading element is kept in the background, so far as official recognition goes.† It seems to be something outside the direct business of Piacenza; and, though

* *Ord. Vit.*, II., pp. 410-11; III., 597-8.

† Labbe's *Concilia*, Vol. XX., pp. 802-10, 815-19; *Chron. Bernoldi*, ap. *Pertz*, Vol. V., pp. 457-8, 463-4.

it was most probably the secret mainspring at Clermont, here too there is only one half casual allusion to it in the conciliar decrees. Possibly the idea of a Crusade on a grand scale only unfolded itself gradually. And, if this be so, it would seem only natural that the degree of countenance given to the movement should be strictly proportioned to the extent to which, in popular phraseology, it 'caught on.' Piacenza taught Urban that some such movement *might* be a success, Clermont shewed that it probably *would* be one. But, even at Clermont, no great secular lord took the cross, excepting Raymond of Toulouse. The enthusiasm of the crowd had, it is true, been roused easily; but it might flicker down as suddenly as it had blazed up, and, till it burnt with a strong and steady flame, it was hardly to be expected that a Council of the Universal Church should take upon itself the full responsibilities for so solemn an undertaking.

We have two reports of Urban's speech at the Council of Clermont from the pens of those who heard it. These reports, though differing in details, are to the same general effect. Both lay stress on the turbulence, the poverty, the perverted energies of the time, and both make Urban lay special stress on the dangers of a redundant population, as though his skilful finger touched the seat of the disease of which France was sickening, and his prudent mind devised a remedy:—

'You inhabit a narrow land pent in between mountain and sea—a land unfertile, that scarcely yields the necessaries of life to those who till it. Your numbers overflow, and hence it is that you waste away your strength in mutual warfare. Let these home discords cease. Start upon your way to the Holy Sepulchre. Snatch that land from the accursed race and hold it for your own. It is a land flowing with milk and honey, a land fruitful beyond all other lands, a paradise of delights.'

Such were Urban's arguments as reported by Robert the Monk. Not unsimilar are those attributed to the same orator by Baldric of Dol: Christendom was Israel's heir in Palestine, and so had a legal right to oust the Saracen intruder from a soil every field of which had felt the pressure of Christ's actual

* Robert the Monk: *Historia Hierosolimitana*, I., cc. 2-3.

foot, or been hallowed by His shadow as He passed along. All round Urban, as he spoke, stood the ring of stalwart warriors, each girt with the belt that marked his knightly rank. How, he indignantly asked, were *they* busying themselves in those fateful days? Plundering their weaker brethren, quarrelling among themselves, robbing the widow and the orphan:

‘For which reason we bid you stay your hands from the slaughter of your kin, and take up arms against an alien race. Christ Himself will be your leader,’ so the Pontiff’s words rang out, ‘as, more valiantly than the Israelites of old, you fight for your Jerusalem. If you perish before reaching the Holy City it matters not; for God is a sure Paymaster whether at the first or the eleventh hour.’*

Thus with Baldric of Dol, as with Robert the Monk, the Papal argument is the same. Both diagnose the same disease, both prescribe the same remedy. How far that remedy was successful, how far it failed, can only be appreciated by those who know whither France was tending under Philip I. at the close of the eleventh century, when the First Crusade started, and what she had become under Philip IV., when the last Crusade was over. The Council of Clermont made the kingdom of mediæval France possible, and it must not be forgotten that, directly the Crusading age was over, France once more entered on an era of turbulence and disorder, and once more became a prey to evils of the same kind, though under a different form, as those from which the First Crusade gave her at least a temporary relief. Had it been feasible in the fourteenth century to revive the Crusading enthusiasm of the eleventh, it is just possible that there might never have been a Hundred Years’ War.

The First Crusade resulted in the establishment of a second France in the Levant. With the foundation of this new kingdom the horizon of Western Europe suddenly became enlarged. Hardly an English county, hardly a French town, but sent its contingent to the Holy Land; and these travellers, passing to and fro, gradually lost the rust of their former insularity or

* Baldric of Dol: *Historia Jerosolimitana*, I., c. 4.

provincialism. The peaceful pilgrim to Jerusalem, such as Abbot Aldbold of St. Edmund's, could glory in a special title, 'Hierosolymitanus;'^{*} while the warrior who had fought God's battles in the East acquired such a military prestige as he would never have gained at home. The English chronicler speaks almost with bated breath of the stubborn valour of Duke Robert's host at Tenchebrai, telling how long and how bravely this scanty handful of warriors—men who had served their military apprenticeship against the Turk in Syria, men '*assueti bellis Jerosolymitanis*'[†]—kept up its desperate onset on the English foot. It was the same in matters not military. The day of provincial reputations was passing away, and the same chronicler tells us twice over that King Henry's chief councillor, Robert Earl of Mellent (ob. 1118) was '*the wisest man of all that dwelt between England and Jerusalem.*'[‡]

The Crusading movement exercised a special influence in intellectual matters, nor need we offer any lengthened apology if, in a year which celebrates the centenary of Tasso's death as well as that of the Council of Clermont, we give the space at our disposal to the consideration of its effects on literature in its two great branches of poetry and history.

First of all as regards Poetry. The two Crusading centuries saw an outburst of poetical activity such as the world had hardly known before. Out of a hundred *chansons de geste*, only one can with any degree of confidence be pronounced, in its present form, to be of pre-Crusading date. Nearly all the rest assumed their present form in the fervour of the new life that the Crusades called into being. The First Crusade itself became the centre of a great epic cycle. Richard the Pilgrim told the story of the leaguer of Antioch in verse for the people of Northern France; § Gregory Bechada told it in Provençal

^{*} *Ord. Vit.*, IV., p. 429.

[†] *Henry of Huntington* (ed. Arnold) p. 235.

[‡] *Ibidem*, pp. 240 and 306.

[§] See Paulin Paris's ed. of *Chanson d'Antioch*, Vol. II. and preface to Vol. I.

for those of Southern France.* The one poet certainly, the other probably, had been upon the first Crusade himself. The minstrel found a welcome everywhere in castle and market-place as he sung for French-speaking folk the story of their kinsmen's valour in the unknown East, and enthusiasm would rise to fever-heat as the poet wove into his song the name of some local hero who, as the audience knew full-well, had borne a part in that glorious enterprise. The man thus honoured was expected to be no niggard, and if he did not reward the singer in a fitting way he might find his name omitted from the poem. So it happened to Arnold, lord of Ghisnes and Ardres. One minstrel, coming to his castle, coveted a certain pair of scarlet shoes, and claimed them as his fee. Being met with a flat refusal, the spiteful gleeman struck this lord's name out of his poem. No wonder that Arnold's kinsman, who has preserved this story for our amusement, breaks out into a fierce denunciation of the whole tribe of 'singing lads and songmen,' who, in their avarice and lust for gain, would never scruple to defraud the noblest warrior of his fame †

The Crusading influence extended far beyond the cycle of poems dealing with the First Crusade. It must have helped very largely in the general awakening of the poetic instinct that found an outlet in the cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne. Indeed, a semi-Crusading element makes its appearance in most of the greater *chansons de geste*. One chanson takes Charlemagne and his paladins to Jerusalem, another takes Renaud de Montauban thère; Huon of Bordeaux has his adventures in the East; Bevis of Hampton wins the love of an Emir's daughter. It is much the same with the nameless author of Baldwin de Sebourg, that Ariosto of the fourteenth century. Nor is a similar element altogether absent from the two most graceful of mediæval love-stories, 'Floire et Blanche-fleur' and 'Aucassin and Nicolette.' The spiritual text-book

* Geoffrey of Vigeois ap. Labbé's *Bibliotheca Nova MSS.*, II., pp. 296, 308, etc.

† Lambert of Ardres, ap., *Pertz*, XXIV., pp. 626-7.

of mediæval chivalry, *Hugh de Tabarie*, has for its leading characters a great Crusading lord and Saladin himself; while the favourite subject for mediæval tapestry or scenic display was the half-mythical contest known as the '*Pas d'armes de Saladin*.'

If poetry benefited much from the Crusading movement, History benefited more. Besides the 'History' proper, Western Christendom, between the age of Charlemagne and the Council of Clermont, had two forms of historical composition flourishing in full vigour—the chronicle and the biography. A third—of which William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guilielmi* is a specimen—was just coming in. At the close of the thirteenth century, when the last Crusade had ended, Europe had expanded the chronicle into unexampled fulness; she had re-created the historical monograph; she had invented the historical romance; and out of the hardly-existent 'gesta' had developed, on a strictly Crusading theme, the masterpiece of mediæval letters, the greatest historical work since the days of Tacitus, William of Tyre's *Historia de rebus transmarinis*.

Nor did the Crusading movement only affect the character of the work done. It brought new labourers into the field. It broke the historical monopoly of the sedentary monk and canon; and, if it could not altogether oust them from the field, it forced them to enlarge their view of things; and placed by their side a rival in the travelled priest and chaplain. Then, thanks to the wider interest that they evoked and the larger audience they created, the Crusades ultimately called into existence a third power to be the rival of monk and priest alike: with Ernoul and Villehardouin, with Joinville and Philippe de Nevaire they made a popular historical literature possible; and, by breaking down the Latin barrier which the clergy had jealously built round the sources of historic truth, gave the people free access to what has always been accounted the most generally acceptable form of serious literature.

And this change of workers involved a complete change of treatment, and of style and ultimately of subject. The monk

in his cloister was out of touch with the great lay world of which he wrote ; its interests and ambitions were not his. He wrote of nearly all things from the outside. Hence the dullness of his work ; hence its almost total lack of human sympathy. Far more favourably situated was the secular priest. He at least spoke with laymen every day ; went in and out among them ; moved from house to house and heard the tales brought home by those members of his flock who had followed their lords to the war. With the first Crusade he began to enter on his *true* literary heritage. The ordinary monk could not quit his cell to follow the great Crusading barons to the East. The secular priest could and did. He shared in all the hardships and the triumphs of the long march from Chartres or Orleans to Antioch and Constantinople ; and it was from his hand that the first original accounts of the expedition came. This change in the recorder involved a change of treatment that was of supreme moment. Eye-witnesses were now recounting in fullest detail things that they themselves had seen. History suddenly became intensely interesting and, from this time forward, tended to throw over the form of the chronicle or, where still holding to the form, began to change its spirit. It became a living narrative recorded by those who had closely watched the course of the events they undertook to tell ; not a lifeless enumeration of isolated facts known by hearsay only. A strong personal element came into play.

Stronger still did this personal element grow when, some hundred years after the Council of Clermont, the secular priest himself failed to satisfy men's cravings after incident. It was no longer sufficient to have seen the noble deeds of others and to record them for the learned few in Latin. Every town and every village of Northern France and Flanders had some adventurous native who had fought with Baldwin at Adrianople or with Louis at Mansurah ; and the Crusading Age produced its greatest effect on literary matters when the actual soldier who had fought God's battles in the East took up his pen to record the story of his own exploits in his own language for his friends at home. From this moment the personal note in history became dominant as it had never been

before. The lovers of history multiplied a hundred fold. The Crusades had done much for historical literature when they set up Fulcher of Chartres, the travelled priest, alongside of Lambert of Herzfeld, the monk; they did more when alongside of Fulcher of Chartres, the secular priest, they set up Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the baron, and Robert of Clari, the knight. Such, in short, were the effects produced upon historical literature by the Crusading movement. We propose to work out a few of these effects in greater detail.

First, as regards the chronicle. Without entering upon any fine-drawn distinction between 'Annals' and 'Chronicles' we may briefly describe this class of literature as consisting of the curtest possible notes on a series of almost entirely disconnected events—events whose only bond of union was that they all occurred in one year. As a type we will take a few lines from one of the better rather than the worse eleventh century chroniclers—Hermann of Reichenau:—

'1046 A.D. Rex natale Domini in Saxonia apud Goslar celebrat. Magna mortalitas multos passim extinxit. Eggihardus marchio ditissimus subito moriens prædiorum suorum regem reliquit heredem. Rex paschale festum apud Trajectum urbem Fresie egit,' etc., etc.

The vices of this style of composition are obvious. It is lifeless, pointless, disconnected; utterly without human interest. After reading such matter for five minutes the strongest brain would begin to reel and ask whence it all flowed and whither it was all tending. It has one merit indeed, that of brevity. But the writer had evidently no sympathy with the events he was recording. They have no unity of thought or plan; they were not meant for popular reading. Hermann and most of his class are outside the events they chronicle. Their heart is not in their work. They do not feel the things they write of. *The personal element is almost entirely wanting.*

It was the work of the First and other Crusades to change all this. Fulcher of Chartres, the chronicler of the First Crusade *par excellence*, was no mere dawdler dreaming in his cell. He 'saw the great world East and West.' He visited Rome and Constantinople with Robert of Normandy; with

Baldwin I. he started on the romantic expedition to Edessa : with Baldwin he traversed Palestine from North to South and pushed his adventurous journey to the deserts east of the Dead Sea. His personality and his personal experiences light up every page. He had seen the First Crusaders take their last farewell of wife and child and friend. At Lucca he had received the benediction of the lawful pope ; at Rome he shuddered to see the hirelings of an anti-pope standing with bare swords in their hands as they snatched the pilgrim's offerings from St. Peter's altar in St. Peter's own church. As he lay prostrate in prayer he heard the robbers' footsteps trampling the great beams overhead and trembled as they hurled down stones upon the worshippers below. He sorrowed when the great ship went down with its living freight in the harbour of Briudisi on Easter Day ; and with his comrades he cried out shame upon those faint-hearted pilgrims, who, taking fright at this disaster, weakly sold their bows and turned their steps homeward when their feet had hardly crossed the threshold of their journey. At times his words have the ring of actual suffering, as in his account of the weary marches from Edessa to Jerusalem :—

' Oftimes were we sorely distressed with extreme heat and torrent rain ; nor did the scanty sunshine last long enough to dry our dripping clothes.* I saw many pilgrims who had no tents perish with cold. I Fulcher, being present among them, on one day saw many folk of both sexes and a vast number of beasts perish in the cold and rain.' ' And that day did we lack rest and all other good things ; nor could we get water for our thirsty cattle.† And I, for my part, wished myself safe back at Chartres or Orleans, as did many another pilgrim too.'

More lifelike still are Fulcher's accounts of battle scenes and panic. In his pages we can live through the terror and anxiety of the first few years after the conquest of Jerusalem as though we had been there ourselves. We hear the news that some tall ship has just put in to Jaffa from the West ; and hurry down to the harbour to learn if any of the new-comers hail from our own Chartres or Blois. Whenever a fresh vessel sails in ' we go out in procession to greet the fresh arrivals as

* *Fulcher of Chartres*, I., c. 33.

† *Ibid.*, II., c. 2.

though they were saints,' eagerly catechising each stranger as to his nation and kindred.* With Fulcher we can see that little band of three hundred knights surrounded by Saracen hosts 'innumerable as locusts;'[†] with him we can strain anxious eyes across the blue Mediterranean in search of help that seems so long in coming; with him we can watch the hero-king (*sicut ipse propius astans cernebam*) strike down one opposing Arab with his white pennoned lance and, wrenching out his weapon from the corpse, pass on to slay a second;[‡] we can hear the great bell of Jerusalem toll forth its summons to the war; and we can follow Fulcher himself as he passes barefooted in the long procession from church to church—offering up our prayers for the success of those who, twenty miles off at Ramleh, are fighting for our God and king.§

Nor are these the only points that mark out Fulcher from the herd of eleventh century chroniclers. He was a curious observer of natural phenomena. As he passed by the Dead Sea with his patron King Baldwin he noted that its waters were so salt that 'neither beast nor bird would drink of them.' 'And of their saltness did I, Fulcher, assure myself by actual experiment; for I got down from my mule and, taking up a mouthful of water in my hand, tasted it and found it more bitter than hellebore.'|| He did not accompany Baldwin on his adventurous expedition to the Red Sea; but he eagerly questioned those who did, and examined the little treasures of shells and pebbles they could show him.** He noticed how the Saracens had established a pigeon post from city to city; †† and how the ways of the East differ from those of the West, as 'the ways of France differed from those of England.' 'In Palestine,' he writes, 'I have never seen a whale or a lamprey or a magpie.'‡‡ But, on the other hand, Palestine and Egypt had their own varieties in the crocodile and the hippo-

* *Fulcher of Chartres*, II., c. 6.

† *Ibid.*, II., c. 11.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., c. 5.

†† *Ibid.*, III., c. 47.

† *Ibid.*, II., c. 6.

§ *Ibid.*, II., c. 31.

** *Ibid.*, II., c. 56.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, III., c. 48.

potamus, and that still stranger beast * which 'we all saw at Nablus, but whose name was known to none.' †

Fulcher of Chartres is indeed the forerunner of a new order of chroniclers. His work is not a collection of disconnected facts; it partakes of the nature of history. He belongs to the world that is coming in as well as to the world that is dying out. If he reaches out one hand towards Marianus Scotus or Florence of Worcester, he stretches out the other towards William of Malmesbury and Roger of Howden. Nor indeed is it his least title to fame that he is one of the very few contemporary writers of whom William of Malmesbury makes a very copious use, and to whom that historian is indebted for some of his liveliest pages. As a secular priest he had at least one great advantage over most of his compeers; he had mingled in the great world as no recluse could do; he could sympathize with its hopes and fears; and, above all else, he could introduce into his work that large personal element which is almost entirely wanting in most of his predecessors and contemporaries.

Besides developing the chronicle the First Crusade re-created the short historical monograph. The historical monograph in its longer form dates at least from the days of Thucydides. On the smaller scale it flourished in Rome where its two most famous examples are Sallust's two histories of *Catiline's Conspiracy* and *The Jugurthine War*. For the perfection of this species of literature two things are necessary: unity of subject and completeness of plot. The short historical monograph must have a definite beginning and a definite end. It is not every age that offers a really fine subject for such treatment; and when the earlier Middle Ages presented such a subject it was seldom embraced by a contemporary who had taken part in the movement he undertook to record.

* This last, however, can hardly have been indigenous. It was possibly a yak.

† *Fulcher of Chartres*, III., cc. 48 and 49.

Such a subject, however, was presented by the First Crusade—a subject of stupendous importance and of universal interest, and yet one which, like the struggle between Athens and Sparta, lent itself to a strictly artistic treatment, having a definite beginning, middle, and ending. So unique an opportunity was not lost, and the history of the First Crusade has been told by something like a dozen contemporaries, five of whom at least regard it as a single distinct movement beginning with the Council of Clermont and ending with the capture of Jerusalem or the battle of Ascalon. Not a few of these twelve historians were themselves present at the scenes they describe; all had talked with those who were; and that which strikes the reader when he compares the most valuable of these monographs with the mass of eleventh century chronicles is (1) that they have a definite story to tell—many of them a real plot to work out; and (2) that they describe the movement from the inside and not from the outside only. The personal element is not altogether absent even from the comparatively cold pages of the *Gesta Francorum*; it literally palpitates in those of Tudebode, as for instance, when he tells us of his brother's death:

'On that Friday was wounded a most valiant knight, Harvey Tudebode,* whom his comrades bore down within the city. And there he lingered till the Saturday between twelve and three—when he passed away from this world to live with God. And his body did his brother, Peter Tudebode, the priest, bury hard by the western gate of St. Peter's Church—*being all the time in the the utmost peril of his life*, as were also his fellow-Christians in the city. And we pray all those who shall hear or read these words to offer alms and put up prayers for the soul of Harvey, and the souls of all other pilgrims who died on their way to Jerusalem.'

From Raymond of Agiles—like Tudebode and Fulcher, a secular priest—this personal element is hardly ever absent. With him we seem flung back fifteen hundred years to the days of Herodotus. Indeed, some of Raymond's sentences might have fallen from the pen of the Father of History himself. They have something of his credulity, something of his

* Tudebode, Theme X., c. 8.

honesty, occasionally something of his shrewdness. Both insist on the distinction between things seen and things heard; though where Herodotus's motto was: *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες*: Raymond's would have been *ἐμοὶ μὲν πιστὰ λέγοντες*. No mediæval writer had a more passionate devotion to truth in the abstract than Raymond of Agiles; though in the concrete it sometimes presented itself under the strangest of guises. Here is his solemn attestation when he lost his dearest friend and patron at the siege of Arkah:—

‘And there did our men suffer labours such as they had never undergone before; and there did we lose knights of such noble birth and character that it is a most grievous thing to record their death. There, among the rest, was slain lord Pontius de Baladun with a stone from a stone-bow: the lord at whose request I undertook to write this work for the instruction of all orthodox Christians—especially such as live beyond the Alps. And now I must needs strive with the help of God, who does all things, to bring it to completion as I should have gladly done had he remained alive. Wherefore I pray all those who shall read my words to believe that things took place as I have written them. And if I record anything that I have not seen and do not believe to be true, or add anything through love or hatred, may God assign me all the pains of Hell and blot out my name from the Book of Life. For though I may be ignorant of many another thing, one thing I do know, that, as I took the office of priesthood on me during the course of this Crusade, I am bound to serve God by telling the truth rather than by weaving lies.’*

And to other people Raymond accords the same unquestioning trust that he asks his readers to accord him. He did not see the bird flutter over the head of Peter Bartholomew as he plunged into the flaming pile; nor perhaps would he have reckoned it a miracle if he had. But he believes the story because it was testified to by two such ‘good’ men as ‘Everard the priest’—a man who, ‘for the love he bore God, remained in Jerusalem’ when his fellows went back home—and William the knight. True, he did not witness the wonder himself, though he was on the spot. But that is easily explained: ‘There was a great crowd round the place and all men cannot see all things.’†

Thus, almost immediately after the Council of Clermont, the short historical monograph was re-created in the pages of the

* *Raymond of Agiles*, c. 15.

† *Ibid.* c. 18.

anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, of Tudebode, of Raymond of Agiles; as well as in those of Baldric of Dol and Robert the monk. At first it was told in Latin only. But, as the popular thirst for information grew greater, men could no longer satisfy their longings for news of what their kinsmen were doing in the remote East at the half-fabulous streams of mediæval poetry (the *chansons de geste*), or the locked fountain of a dead language. They clamoured for truth in truth's native prose. There rose a complaint that, as a thirteenth century writer phrases it, '*rhyme leads to the addition of words that are not in the original*,' Latin. And so the same movement that at the beginning of the twelfth century gave us the Latin monographs on the First Crusade, at the beginning of the thirteenth gave us Villehardouin's French monograph on the Fourth. Later still, it gave birth to Philip de Nevaire's *Estoire de la Guerre entre l'empereur Frederic et Johan d'Ibelin*, the masterpiece of its kind; and later still to Joinville's inimitable work. Thus were the foundations of French prose laid, and the next century saw the completion of the *Chroniques de St. Denis*. The monographs on the First Crusade were the seeds from which grew the earliest harvest of French prose.

Even before the Council of Clermont Europe was beginning to evolve the 'Gesta'—a species of historical composition that it is very difficult to distinguish from the History properly so-called. It was the work of the First Crusade to give us what, had it been completed, would have been the finest of all these Gesta, and to develope the Gesta, as it existed in such rhetorical and formless works as William of Poitiers' *Gesta Wilielmi*, into the greatest historical work of the Middle Ages—the greatest History since the days of Tacitus—William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.

Of all contemporary writers of the First Crusade Ralph of Caen had the finest natural gifts and the loftiest conception of an historian's duties. Few historians, that ever lived, have had greater powers or, for his age, a keener insight to discern between the gold and dross of facts. 'It is a noble office to record the noble deeds of princes' are his own words; and indeed

he does record them somewhat too nobly.* In more than one way he was the Kinglake of the First Crusade. He did not, like Fulcher and Tudebode and Raymond, take a part in this Crusade himself. When Godfrey of Bouillon started for the East he was a mere youth, studying in his father's house at Caen and hardly knowing that there were such places as 'Antioch' or 'Rome' in the world. There, in the spring of 1098, he saw the red lights of the Aurora Borealis burning in the midnight sky, and, like his fellow-citizens, knew them for the messengers of some fierce battle fought beneath an Eastern sun.† Later still that East laid its spell upon him. He too would see 'the great world East and West.' He was with Boamund at the siege of Durazzo;‡ and with Tancred when he raised the siege of Edessa. There, from the greatest captains of the age, he heard the true story of the First Crusade as it appeared to them. Tancred wished him to write the history of his life; but, so long as Tancred was alive he refused to do so, on the plea that, in that prince's lifetime, he could not speak out all that was in his mind. Tancred once dead, he threw himself into the task with vigour; and, so as to get at the fullest truth possible, with a conscientiousness rare in mediæval writers, he begged his quondam tutor, Arnulf, now Patriarch of Jerusalem, to correct his MS. from the stores of his superior information. To judge from his half-completed work, he hardly need have hesitated to write it while its subject was alive; for few men, even if greedy of praise beyond all others that have breathed, would ask for a larger measure of flattery than is to be found there. Never perhaps had a mediæval historian such wonderful facilities for getting at the truth; seldom has there been an historian better qualified by his natural gifts to profit by such opportunities; seldom has any writer had a loftier conception of his office. And yet, for all Ralph's conscientiousness and all his marvellous gifts, his work comes perilously near to being a gigantic failure. Its author cannot or will not say a plain thing plainly. He is always straining after metaphor or antithesis. Even when simplest he is unnatural; in places he defies translation. At his best and shortest

* *Ralph of Caen*, Preface.† *Ibid.*, c. 57.‡ *Ibid.*, Preface.

he will not write like other men. Does Tancred pass over the river Vardar on horseback, he crosses 'on the ship and oarage of his steed;' * while, as to the other Crusaders, they 'equorum caudis pro remigio utuntur;' † his heroes' spears are 'drunk' with slaughter; and the Christian swords 'quench their thirst in Turkish blood.' And yet, for all this stilted style he is now and then effective as only a true poet can be. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that for swing of verse and grandeur of conception certain lines in chapter lxxxix. of his only extant work are the finest in mediæval Latin poetry. They are not Virgil it is true, but they are a by no means despicable Lucan. Over and above his rhetorical vigour he is, intellectually speaking, taller by the head and shoulders than all his rivals and contemporaries. He has talked with the military leaders of the First Crusade and knows the meaning of strategy and generalship. He sees what is worth recording and he records it. He does not lose himself in an aimless flow of detail; he keeps the salient points of his story well in view; and, had he only known how to prune the exuberance of his eloquence he would have been immeasurably superior to all other Crusading historians but one.

Superior to all but one. For there is one Crusading historian of the twelfth century who stands apart from all the rest—apart from all other historians of the Middle Ages—without fellow and without second. History in the true sense of the word—half an art and half a science—was reborn into the Latin world with William of Tyre. By his side all other mediæval historians or chroniclers are dwarfed into insignificance. It is not that he is by any means a perfect historian. His judgment is often at fault; he often follows the wrong authority; every now and then he makes mistakes of his own especially in the matter of chronology; he was almost certainly a partizan, and, like Fulcher of Chartres or Robert de Monte, he does not scruple to keep silence on matters where it would have been imprudent to speak out. And yet for all his failings he is the only historian between the age of Tacitus and the Renaissance who knew what history should aim at and, knowing this, had the capacity to put his

* *Ralph of Caen*, c. 6.† *Ibid.*, c. 5.

ideal into practice. The contrast between him and even the best of his rivals, such as William of Malmesbury, is amazing. The English historian rambles on from nowhere to nowhere. He has perpetual digressions, interesting it may be in themselves, and generally curious or useful for historians of a later age—but tending in no one direction. In his pages stories of the miraculous, idle tales of dancing girls and dreaming clerks, jostle one another shoulder to shoulder till they almost elbow out the graver narrative of fact. The *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is the work of a mind inquisitive, well-stored and, in a certain way, reflective. But it is not the product of a master-intellect, still less of a perfect artist.

With the Eastern William everything is different. His work is almost epic in its plan; had its writer only lived four years longer, it might have been epic in its execution too. Its symmetry is marvellous. There are no needless digressions; fact follows fact in orderly procession, each falling into its proper place in a well-proportioned narrative. The subdivision into books and chapters is simply perfect; and, above all else, save in the matter of the Holy Lance, there is hardly a trace of the miraculous from end to end of the Archbishop's pages. At the close of a long article we cannot develop this subject any further. But the fact remains—that with William of Tyre history was reborn into the Latin world. And that Latin world was not slow to recognize the fact. It promptly turned the *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* into French; and then into Spanish, and Italian, and English. Copies multiplied on every hand. William of Tyre's work was the first mediæval history to win popular recognition: the first, by means of translations, to gain an almost œcumenical reputation. Directly or indirectly it modified the mediæval conception of history; and rendered possible not merely the authorized court histories of Paulus Jovius and Polydore Virgil in Latin; but also vernacular histories such as the *Chronicle of St. Denis*, which has worked up into itself large passages from this source. William of Tyre, too, like Fulcher and Tudebode and Raymond of Agiles and Ralph of Caen, was not a monk but a secular priest. He too—though, being an historian in the strictest sense of the word, he

has hardly any place in his narrative for the personal element—has given us the finest example of what the mediæval chronicle and the mediæval 'gesta' could develop into when once they ceased to be the almost exclusive property of the sedentary monk and canon.

Last of all, in Albert of Aix the First Crusade created the historical romance—that form of narrative where historic truth decks itself out with all the pomp and trappings of her sister, Fiction. This peculiar product of the Middle Ages found its first expression in the *Historia Hierosolymitanæ Expeditionis* of the Canon of Aix. Nowhere else do we breathe the very atmosphere of mediæval life. Albert's work sums up in itself nearly all that gave their special charm to the Crusading age and movement. It has vitality and motion everywhere; the ring of battle is on every page; there is adventure and pathos and mystery, deeds of noble daring, hairbreadth escapes, gallant exploits, reckless feats of arms by land and sea. Like feudal society itself, it has no unity, and if it has a very effective, though somewhat legendary beginning, it has not, and perhaps was never meant to have, an equally definite end. Probably it was written not very long after the date (1119-20 A.D.), at which it somewhat abruptly breaks off; but this is a mere inference. Few works of its enormous bulk had such a popularity as Albert's history enjoyed in the Middle Ages, and it, if the statement may be predicated of any single book, formed the basis of William of Tyre's great masterpiece. Striking, however, as this honour, if it stood alone, would be, it is only a part of Albert's many titles to fame. The *Historia Expeditionis Hierosolymitanæ* is the first specimen of quite a new style of historical literature one that has given pleasure to a greater number of readers than any other that has ever existed. It would not be too much to say that Albert is the spiritual ancestor of Froissart. The Canon of Aix has all the good qualities and all the bad qualities that signalize the Canon of Chimay. Both writers have the same delight in action, the same variety of interest, the same ingenuousness, the same dramatic instinct, and, it must be added, the same vices of inaccuracy, self-contradiction, and credulity. Albert of Aix, at

least, is quite as much a poet as he is an historian, and it is curious to notice that this fact was recognised by the great Italian poet whose centenary Italy is celebrating this year at almost the same time that France is celebrating the centenary of the Council of Clermont. Tasso himself did not scorn to borrow one of his most pathetic incidents from the pages of the founder of romantic history, though we suspect that few readers of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, when they read the story of the gallant death of Sweno the Dane, have any idea that the poet drew his inspiration from this Crusading writer—just as from a somewhat similar source the old romance of ‘Floire et Blanchefleur,’ alluded to some pages back, he possibly borrowed the still more beautiful story as to how the tyrant of Jerusalem consented to spare the lives of Sophronia and Olindo.

And thus we work round to the point from which we started. The First Crusade produced an almost unparalleled effect upon the intellectual atmosphere of Western Europe. It enlarged her mental horizon, and gave her new interests and new ideals. From the day when Urban II. addressed the vast multitudes at Clermont, poetry began to break out into an almost unexampled activity, and that not merely on themes that were directly of a Crusading character. Along with purely imaginative literature, history felt the quickenings of the new life stirred by the First Crusade and those that followed it. These Crusades, as we have seen above, expanded the Chronicle into an undreamt of fulness. They re-created the historical monograph, they invented the historical romance, and out of the hardly-existent ‘Gesta’ they evolved, on a strictly Crusading theme, the greatest historical work of the Middle Ages—William of Tyre’s *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.

These results were obtained in a large measure by breaking down the historical monopoly of the homestaying monk and his fellows. This done, the traveller priest began to enter on his true heritage. He followed the great Crusading lords to the East, and having shared in all the perils and triumphs of the expedition, was able to tell its story with a vigour, a sympathy, and a personal note, such as were utterly wanting to the monk. This ‘personal element’ was as leaven to trans-

form the whole mass of historical literature. Its workings were felt on every side. Even the monkish annals began to respond to the call, and invest themselves with something of a human interest. Then, as time went on, the story of later expeditions was written, not by mere eye-witnesses, in Latin, but by the actual combatants, in French. The personal 'note' grew more dominant than ever; an order of lay historians was formed, literature tended to become a profession, and the foundations of French prose were laid.

T. A. ARCHER.

ART. V.—FISH-HATCHING.

AQUI-CULTURE, like Agri-culture, is a revival in Europe. Both Arts were in a high state of development in ancient Rome. But, while fish-breeding was carefully attended to, it is probable that fish-hatching—and more especially artificial fertilisation and incubation—is a modern invention. Reasoning from analogy it is difficult for us to acknowledge this, but we are without positive knowledge of its employment amongst the ancients. This *départure*, along with the great advance in transit, are the special modern claims in connection with the Art. For the discovery of artificially delaying incubation by lowering temperature, so as to enable ova to carry safely, has happily been contemporary with the improvement in refrigerating apparatus. So that, if conditions are suitable on the spot, there are now no insuperable difficulties in the way of transferring the most recently developed fishes, to compete in the struggle of existence with the more ancient survivals in the Antipodes, or elsewhere. Thus, we have not only successfully stocked the rivers of New Zealand with the salmon tribe—but trout have reached the Neilgherry hills of India from the Howieton ponds, and a few generations more will have redistributed the fish fauna of the world. It remains to be seen whether the fish will shew equal vitality, and

capacity to grapple with their new surroundings, that our flora and land animals have. We may also expect many curious fresh developments, such as have been indicated among the anadromous fishes of the old world in the New Zealand waters. They may lose their necessity for migrating for food, and develop variations that may ultimately prove specific. In any case, the first result of fish-culture is, that the highest product of the fresh water, both for food and sport, is becoming as universal in suitable situations, as the best grain, the best dog, or the best horse and bullock. This, however, is only the first rude step. The improvement of breeds by feeding, as well as by intercrossing, has yet to be done justice to. We have indeed to fully utilise our knowledge. We have also to be careful that desire for novelty does not lead us into false paths, as when it was sought to introduce the *Silurus* into English waters.

Whatever progress has been made has now become international in fish-culture, as in all else; for all freely give of their knowledge, and the literature of the world is open to all. The question is, how far has our knowledge gone, and to what extent has it been put in force? It is proper to use *Fish* in this connection as including all marine and fresh-water creatures, whether Crustacean or even Molluscan, as the culture of these is cognate to that of the higher forms, although these are vertebrate. We will therefore use the term in its widest sense, and see what progress has been made in this, the latest, but not the least important, of our efforts to stimulate, and improve upon, the methods of Nature.

During the middle ages, and throughout the period of the European predominance of the Church of Rome, the necessity of providing a proper supply of fish for use on Fridays and during Lent, did much to create a species of Fish-culture. That this did not extend to fish-hatching, but stopped short at enclosing and regulating the supply of fresh-water fishes seems to us probable. At the same time, the Romans were at least acquainted with the securing of oyster spat, and from this to the artificial hatching of fish ova does not seem a very long step, or one that may not really have been taken. The

probability is, however, that the cost of such artificially produced fish would have been far beyond the purses of the multitude, and the wealthy had *viviers* and ponds in which they kept their own fish for their own use. The extent to which they had gone may be judged by the system in use among the monks of the monasteries, and the great Seigneurs of the continent, which was also introduced into this country, probably by the Normans originally. The absence of proper conveyances for the supply of sea fish to the inland parts of the country made it imperative for the various proprietors to meet their own necessities. In doing so, they did not fail to discover that certain fishes required a particular kind of 'cultch' upon which to fix their spawn. As the supply of this material was an acknowledged necessity, this may be considered the first step towards fish-hatching. Seeing the information in the hands of the public with regard to what was undoubtedly at one time a most important appanage of the English country house is very meagre, we quote from a rare work in our possession dated 1616 (?), describing 'Of the manner of making Stewes and Pooles for keeping of fishes.'

'Therefore for the appointing out of ground for these his Pooles or Stewes to breed or feed his fish in, he shall choose it joining unto his Medowes, in some leane place, and such as he could otherwise make no profit of, and yet it must be in a firme ground, that is gravelleie or sandie, for such places do feed fishes excellent well: notwithstanding, that the muddie and dyrtie poole be best for the Tench, Burbet, Cod (?), Eele, and such other slipperie and slimie fishes: but he that loveth his health must not furnish his Pooles or Stewes with such manner of fish. The Poole will be marvellously well seated, if the commodiousnesse of the place will afford it continuall refreshment from some flowing Fountaine, or some Brooke, or little River falling into it, whereby continually the first water may be removed, and new supplied in place thereof, not suffering the other to stand too long impounded: and therefore, if it be possible, the Poole is to have convenient issue in one part or other, for so by this means the water is renewed the more easily, and the fish therein made the more chearefull and better thriving to everie bodies sight: whereas on the contrarie, the standing and corrupted water affordeth them nothing but bad nourishment, making the flesh thereof of an ill tast, and unpleasant in eating. In the meane time you must not forget to set grates of Brasse or Yron close fastened, and pierced with but small holes in the conduits, that so by them the water may find one passage in, and another

out, and yet to stay the fish from getting forth. . . . These fish-ponds also may be made in anie low valley. . . . In this place, above all other, you shall make your fish-pond, drayning it at the dryest time of the yeare, and digging it of such depth as you shall thinke most convenient for the receipt of such water as shall fall into it : then noting how the water descendeth, you shall just against that descent make the head of your pond, mounting it of such a height, that no land-water whatsoever may overflow it, and this head you shall make in this wise : first, so soon as you have drained the ground, and made the earth firme where the head must be, you shall drive in foure or five rowes of piles made of Elme, and some of *Oake halfe burnt or scortcht*, and then the earth which you digge out of the pond, together with fagots and bundells of wood, you shall ram in hard between the pile, till you have covered them, then you shall drive in more piles, and ram them likewise as before, heaping thus pile upon pile, and earth upon earth, till you have made the head of that convenient height which you did desire, and if in the midst of this head you preserve a convenient place for a sluice or floud-gate, which you may draw up and shut at your pleasure, it will be a great deal the better : and on the top of the head you shall make a small sluice or two with fine grates in them, to stay the fish from passing through the same, which sluices shall convey the wast water, which shall at any time rise above the height or levell of the bankes : the bottome and sides of this pond you shall pave all over with fine green-grasse-turfe which will be a great nourishment to the Fish, and above the water you shall plant Osiers, and on the top of the head divers rowes of Willow, because all fish take great delight in the shadow : and if you intend the pond for Carpe or Breame, you shall all along one side of the pond, stake and binde down divers fagots made of *brush-wood in which the fish shall cast their young or spawne*, and so have them preserved, which otherwise would be destroyed.'

The fish thus enclosed were carefully fed, as thus :—

'And sometimes it will be good to cast upon the pooles and ponds the fresh leaves of parsley, for these leaves doe rejoyce and refresh the Fishes that are sicke. Besides to keepe your Fish-ponds well turft as was before said, so as they may have store of greene grasse in them, is an excellent reliefe for fish, and a food which they will desire as much as any other, for they will sucke and feed upon grasse exceedingly : therefore when grasse is in the prime, and hath full bit upon it, if you gather large turfes thereof, and pin them fast downe under the water, they will feed and fatten the Fish wonderfully : the chippens of bread, or other crusts which come from the farmers table, although they be greasy and foule, yet are they a very good feed for fish ; so is also the clotted bloud of beasts, as sheepe, oxen, or any other kind, being cast into the pond morning and evening ; the young brood of Wasps when you find their neasts, being cast into the water, is a food that fish will delight in before any other.'

[The Italics are ours.]

In the above account it is clear that the intention was to *breed*, as well as *keep*, the fish. There was a clear understanding as to this. The writers knew the species whose spawn stuck to the brushwood, and prepared for them accordingly. These seem to have been the commonest and most valued species, although now-a-days, when sea-fish are so plentiful, they are little valued in this country. We refer to Carp and Tench. Not only are they understood as to spawning, but they are watched over as to feeding. It is for them that the 'greene-turfe' is so carefully supplied, and although the more animal-feeders are also attended to, particularly the eels, it is to the vegetable feeders that the most of the directions specially refer. Indeed the writer elsewhere says: 'the most common, and which best store and furnish the same, are the Carpe, and the Barbell.' Many fishes are, however, described, and their habitats:

'All sorts of fishes doe not feed alike in all manner of places: the stonie and rockie places do like well the fishes called thereupon *Secatiles*, or fishes living in stonie places, as the Trout, Pearch, Leach, Lunipe, Mullet and Gudgeons: In muckie and slimie places, the Tench, Bourbet, Codfish, and Eele doe delight to live: In gravellie and sandie grounds, the Salmon, the Pike, and the Barbel, doe not much dislike to live.'

Considerable attention had therefore been paid to the habits of these inhabitants of our fresh water, and it is probable that the knowledge of the re-discovery of artificial hatching, as made presumably by a monk in the fifteenth century, by name Dom Pinchon, had spread among those who were so largely dependent upon vivaria. This monk went the length of expressing the ova of the female and the milt of the male into water, which he then agitated to produce impregnation. This done, he placed the eggs in a wooden box, with sand on the bottom, and with osier grills on the top and at both extremities. This was then placed in gently flowing water, and kept until hatched. The observation so readily made of the operations of salmon on the natural redds, could scarcely have escaped the attention of those interested in the preservation of the supply of trout and their allies. Thus we find that quite independent experiments had been made in Norway, as well as the more known ones of Lund in Sweden, and Jacobi in

Westphalia. These latter experimenters about the middle of last century, are now looked upon as the revivers of the generally forgotten art of artificial impregnation and hatching of fishes. But we are hardly disposed to accept the conclusion that this art had ever really died, at least in its simpler departments, of permitting milt and roe to come together under suitable conditions, or collecting and hatching out the deposited, and already impregnated, ova. The presence throughout Europe of the carp, a fish that bears every evidence of long culture to meet special conditions, rather points to China where it is tamed, as the original source of our knowledge of fish-culture, in all likelihood, if not also of fish-hatching. We now know that Chinese prisoners introduced printing into Damascus under Haroun-al-Raschid, and probably other arts wandered Westward both before and since. The industry in its simplest form is a great one in China. On the Yang-tse-Kiang, in the spring, great numbers of boats assemble to purchase fish spawn, that is gathered from the river. Extensive reaches of the river are enclosed with hurdles and mats, which collect the spawn, and vases are then filled with the watery product, and carried off to all parts of the Empire. It is carried about in barrels, a sort of fat, yellow, muddy-looking liquid, in which the untrained eye can see nothing. A dish of the fluid can be purchased for a trifle, sufficient to stock a considerable pond. When thrown into the water the fish soon hatch in quantity, and after a time are fed by throwing tender herbs minced small on the surface of the water. Growing rapidly, in a month they are fed plentifully morning and evening with green stuff reaped fresh from the fields, which they come to the surface for, and devour greedily. In another fortnight they are said to reach two or three pounds weight (?), when they cease growing, and are then caught and sold alive in the market. They have thus reached in China the stage not only of sowing the ova cheaply throughout the fresh waters of the country, but also of rapidly fattening a manageable fish, as we have succeeded in doing in this country with our more quickly maturing sheep and cattle. In this country we have not yet turned our attention to this department of the subject, nor indeed has the

popularisation of Aquiculture, as regards fresh-water fish other than salmon and trout—the so-called anadromous fishes—reached such a stage as to demand such an organisation, for purposes of distribution. To mediæval fish-culture we are probably indebted for several of our species in this country, but the facilities for transit have invaded every corner of the country with sea-fish at a cheap price, and, added to the influence of Protestantism, have destroyed the former necessity for ponds or stews. The grayling is therefore in all probability the only acclimatised fish that has retained its popularity, although the vendace and other coregoni are doubtless among those introduced. It is a thankless and a useless labour seeking to trace the early attempts at fish-hatching in the various countries of Europe. Enough that the ruder natural system can be traced back through the ages, to Egypt in the one direction, and China in the other. It seems the natural result of increasing population, and consequent difficulty of obtaining animal food. As a certain amount of security is required to stimulate this, as any other, cultivation, it was probably readily forgotten, or neglected, during times of disturbance. In all thickly populated countries, when fisheries are free and unregulated, they soon become valueless. The freeing of the fresh-water fisheries of India, as described by Dr. Day, resulted in their threatened destruction. This was the more easily brought about, as the waters are so controlled for purposes of irrigation, but otherwise without care and general control, the finny inhabitants were left entirely at the mercy of those whose only interest was to capture all they possibly could at the moment, lest others should enter in, and partake of the harvest. Consequently, not only the grown fish, but the fry, and in many cases the ova also, were indiscriminately gathered for food. The ova was pressed into cakes and baked. We cannot ourselves say much against this, so long as we look upon the ova—or berries—of the lobster, one of our most rapidly decreasing water animals, as an especial table dainty. However this may be, we may take it from the evidence of the tanks, and their infinite care in small produce, that the people of India formerly took more care of the water

produce than they do in these times of 'what is every body's business is nobody's business.'

While Jacobi of Westphalia is said to have received a pension from the British Government last century for his discovery of artificial incubation in Europe, we owe more to those who applied the discovery—if it can be called such—than to the inventors. An ignorant French fisherman named Remy, having in 1842, from his own observation, artificially hatched out a large quantity of trout, the attention was directed thereto of one who has done more for pisciculture than any one individual in Europe—M. Coste, then Professor of Embryology in the College of France. He was instrumental in setting on foot the famous establishment of Huningue, the great fore-runner of artificial fish culture. If the French originally obtained the idea from the Germans, Germany has now returned the compliment, for she has appropriated the establishment! But it must not be forgotten that it was to the advanced liberal views of France that Europe is indebted for this disseminating centre of the new art of fish-culture.

Following Huningue, the establishment of Stormontfield, on the Tay above Perth, was laid out by the proprietors of the river. The first hatching took place in the spring of 1854, from ova laid down the previous November. Important as have been the results from this small and economically conducted establishment, which only cost £500 to lay out; yet here the great problem that agitated the minds of fishermen and naturalists for long was solved. Was the parr a young salmon? Even such able writers as Andrew Young, Inver-shin, in his book on the salmon, of date 1854, shrewd and interested observer as he was, still held that the parr had no connection with the salmon-fry. That the parr became a smolt, the smolt a grilse, and the grilse a salmon, all in due time, were proved indubitably at the Stormontfield hatching ponds. These ponds and redds being in the open air, and exposed to the ordinary atmospheric influences, another point was brought forward. The lowered temperature retarded the incubation of the ova, which took some 120 days on an average to hatch. In the new covered hatchery on the same river

at Dupplin, the average time has been reduced to 66 days. This suggested that incubation could be delayed indefinitely, and the knowledge has since been employed in the system of transportation of ova to distant lands, no difficulty being now found in sending the most delicate ova with care to the Antipodes. The success of Stormontfield, with very inadequate means, was a great stimulus to the new art. For it was indeed a success: the rental of the river had fallen from £14,574 in 1828, to £7,955 in 1852. From the establishment of the hatchery it soon began to rise steadily, until by 1862 it had regained its old level. Other minor hatcheries were established on rivers here and there, with more or less success; but the most valuable result was the establishment of private hatcheries in different parts of the country, of which the most famous, and that which has been conducted both with a view to commercial success and scientific enquiry, is Howieton. Under the care of Sir James Maitland, Bart., and the outcome of his own assiduous and skilled personal attention, this fine hatchery has carried the art into a science. *The History of Howieton*, by the owner, is an epoch-making work, and has clearly proved that this country is without doubt in the very first rank in aquiculture. It will remain for the future to make use of the mass of evidence that is being tabulated with scientific accuracy, on carefully drawn-up and wisely-ordered lines, doing for scientific aquiculture what Gilbert and Lawes have been so long doing for scientific agriculture. Meantime, we have the benefit of the results of ample expenditure in capable hands, so that this private hatchery on an imperial scale has done for this country more than the Government hatchery of Huningue did for France, and still remains the model hatchery. Here every mechanical detail connected with hatching on the largest scale has been worked out to the greatest perfection. Added to this, the importance of preventing over-crowding, and the age at which the best results are obtainable from parents of different growths, the preparation of the fry for travelling, hybridisation, and many other minor details have been worked out with the utmost fidelity and reliability. Much of this knowledge is now at the command of

the modern fish-culturist, along with the equally valuable account of the failures and the reasons therefor. Previous failures elsewhere are fully explained.

'At the head of the list stand out in strong relief over-statements, caused no doubt by anxiety to claim the best possible results, and the insuperable difficulty in counting the fry; next in order, the almost total ignorance of the habits and requirements of young fish; and the difficulty of transplanting them—for their mere conveyance alive to the destination is not sufficient: they must be perfectly prepared, the temperature of the transport-tank must be kept within a few degrees of that of the stream into which they are to be turned, and the stream itself must not only be suitable for fry, but the part of the stream where they are liberated must be carefully selected. Next, in point of deadliness, the insane overcrowding of the ova, and afterwards of the fry in the trays. . . . But there is a yet more fatal cause of failure, a cause so hidden that never was it suspected until the Howieton experiments placed it beyond a doubt. *The maturity of the parents is of paramount importance in determining the chance of the offspring in the struggle for existence.* Old spawners produce strong and healthy fry; young spawners, though comparatively more prolific, produce weaker offspring, with a much smaller chance of holding their own in the waste of waters.'

As the relative ages of male and female must also be considered, it is clear that the experiments carried out at Howieton have a much wider bearing than upon fish and fisheries alone.

When we add to Howieton the work done at such important private hatcheries as that of J. J. Armistead on the Solway, the oldest in the kingdom, and conducted so as to be a commercial success, we cannot be considered second to any country in a knowledge of, and progress in, this new art. Private enterprise, then, having done so much to place us in the first rank in aquiculture, we are yet constrained to acknowledge that we have not as a nation done the best with the knowledge so freely supplied by our illustrious pioneers. There are various reasons for this. We have already seen that except in the sluggish waters of England, and for purposes of sport only, coarse fish are comparatively valueless. They cannot compete with the product of the sea, so easily distributed to the greater part of the country. In Scotland, on the other hand, while much has been done in the way of stocking our lochs

with trout, especially within range of angling societies, yet great numbers are as yet left as they were, and a want of knowledge prevails as to the proper kind of fish, the best mode of stocking waters, and the previous and after treatment of the same. There is a danger of leaving far too many fish in the confined waters, with the natural result of stunting all of them. There is no effort as a rule to provide food and shelter, to keep down enemies, to plant the borders and the shallows intelligently. So many fish are thrown into a given area of water, and left to get along as they best can. With skilled advice so accessible from the large hatcheries, at a very trifling cost, the stockers persist in rude rule-of-thumb methods. The annually increasing difficulty of obtaining angling ought to stimulate every owner of a trout loch, or one capable of being made into such, to provide it with a suitable stock, under skilled advice from the greater hatcheries, where men with the requisite knowledge are kept for the purpose. The price at which the best species can now be sent, either as eyed ova, to be laid down in redds in the entering burns, or as yearlings to be placed directly in the waters themselves, is so moderate that it can scarcely be looked upon as a serious expenditure. Indeed, this has probably been the cause that so little progress has been made in some quarters with hatching itself, seeing that the owners of fishing lochs can so readily procure a supply of yearlings or two year olds, to be fished down the same or the following year, without regard to permanent stocking. Even this, however, is an important aid to the private fish-hatcheries. From these, during the last twenty years, a great many of our lochs have been stocked with Loch Leven and other fish, of a superior class to the undersized local breeds.

But the most important question for fresh water fish breeders is that of the anadromous fishes, such as the salmon and sea-trout. The vast possibilities before us in connection with these fishes in Scotland, have not yet been fully appreciated even by those who have given much time and attention to the subject. The reason for this is partly that the knowledge of the ways of these fishes at sea has not been general, and indeed has only recently been acquired. The only apparent demand

for fresh water on the part of these fish, is for the purposes of depositing their spawn, and perhaps for a short sojourn. There is no reason to believe that, after the deposition of their spawn, they require to remain in the rivers. Consequently a very small stream will carry a large stock, so long as they do not require feeding. All that has to be done is to prevent overcrowding at spawning time, and to take care the kelts return to the sea. So long as either herring or salmon are full of milt or roe the pressure of food would irritate them. So soon as they get rid of the contents of their ovaries, they become voracious and if allowed to lie about the pools of the upper reaches of the rivers, they become 'mended' indeed, but at the expense of myriads of the young of their species. The lack of proper security, and the presence of injurious restrictions, are the main causes of the absence of hatching operations in connection with our magnificent river-system. The jealousy of upper and lower proprietors, and the general dread of future legislation on antagonistic lines, has also much to do with want of action and interest in the matter. If the salmon is virtually a sea-fish, feeding mainly in the sea, it is certain that it cannot exist without fresh water streams. But the proprietors of these cannot be expected to hatch fish in the upper reaches for fishermen and others at the mouths or on the lower reaches, where no ova could possibly be hatched, and where the fish do not even feed, but are only using a public right of way!

We are not greatly concerned for the proprietors of these rivers, who have not shown themselves particularly public-spirited, or even capable of mutual action for the benefit of their co-fraternity. But, as the custodians of the river fisheries for the nation, we regret that their action, or no-action, has been the means of turning the legislation on the salmon in the wrong direction, a direction that will have to be departed from, if any real progress is ever to follow our fish-hatching discoveries. The antagonism between lower and upper proprietors, the granting of licences to fishermen to fish in the embouchures of rivers, the abundant use of hang-nets off the mouths of rivers, are all antagonistic to the hatching of migra-

tory fishes in our rivers by private individuals or associations. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and the recent legislative action, as well as administrative action, declares practically that the salmon, so soon as it leaves the fresh water, belongs to no one. If any private action is to be anticipated, the fish that are so hatched must be protected within range. If such protection is not to be vouchsafed, then the Government must take action on its own initiative, and stock the rivers with artificially incubated fishes, for the general behoof, while seeing that the needful laws are passed to secure the return, and protection during the spawning season, of a sufficient body of fish. This is no doubt a serious demand to make upon any Department, but a Fishery Board for Scotland ought to be able without any great strain to provide the necessary knowledge, as well as to administer wisely the funds needful for the purpose. We have before us a good example of what can be done in this direction, in the success of the United States of America in checking the depletion of the river Columbia, which threatened to be destroyed as a salmon preserve, owing to the reckless fishing of the irresponsible public. The capture of the spawning fish in their ascent, was counterbalanced by the distribution of some millions of artificially spawned and incubated young in the river for some years annually. The recovery of the river was marvellously rapid, and its improved condition was further secured by legislation.

It might naturally be anticipated that in new countries like Canada and the States, where the population has not attained the dangerous congestion of the older lands, such impoverishment of great rivers would be impossible. But absence of initial control, and the greater use of machinery, made far greater havoc than we have yet seen in our land 'of rich and old renown,' with its ancient rights and charters. There the international question more rapidly matured the national, by directing the attention of the nation to the value of, and the limits of, its water privileges. The Government was obliged to take up the question of the depletion of the rivers in the older settled portion of the Dominion, and was forced to enact laws for the regulation of the fisheries, as well as to take

means to re-stock the waters. The Canadian Dominion has accordingly given great attention to the subject, has established a considerable number of hatcheries, and placed an enormous quantity of fry in the various rivers and confined waters.

With such an example before us both in the States and Canada, it is almost incredible to find our Government facilitating every means of increasing the capture of the salmon tribe, without taking any steps to maintain the supply. With the increase of hang-nets at sea, with a continuous line of engines of destruction from the moment the salmon smells fresh water till it reaches the furthest spawning beds, with no watchful care either over the beds, or over the fry when they are in their tender infancy; but with great coddling of the greedy and voracious kelt fattening at their expense, in place of returning to the salt water and its wealth of food, no wonder little progress is being made in maintaining a river stock. Let us add to this, the absence of any honest or judicious attempt at the purification of our rivers, and we have enough to explain the backward condition of our river-fisheries, compared with our prominent place as pioneers of the science of fish-hatching.

Until legislation for the salmon tribe is placed in the hands of those who have neither private interests to serve, nor political log-rolling to influence them, we may look for little more to be done in the way of river stocking. The attention of those who would otherwise have turned first in this direction, has consequently been directed to the sea, where there is apparently an unlimited outlet for improvement. We are disposed to think that too much has been expected from this direction, and that the efforts being made are not likely to result in encouraging to greater. Let us at once acknowledge that there is very little real difficulty in hatching out most sea-fish, and turning them into given reaches of water. In Norway Captain Dannevig has been most successful with very moderate means. There is no demand for the extreme nicety of fresh-water hatching, and the short time required for most of the sea fishes, compared with the salmon class, still further facilitates the operation. This refers more especially to the

commoner classes of fish, such as cod and plaice, whose ova are readily procurable, and as easily manipulated. We are consequently overpowered by the tales of millions of ova incubated at considerable expense, and turned out into the sea with little regard to the probability of their ever finding their way to the shelter of the friendly bottom, through the multitude of enemies waiting them *en route*. Now, while interesting enough in itself, there is much nonsense, and mere claptrap, in the claims attached thereto. All this hatching in the meantime is in the neighbourhood of the North Sea fisheries, and there is no doubt that the North Sea is specially suited for pouring fry into, isolated as it is to a large extent from other seas. But let us see what all this row of nothings means? A cod will throw say ten millions ova,—not all at once,—but over perhaps six weeks time. So that even a hundred million cod ova are only the product of, let us say, ten large fish. Now the cod of the Lofoden Islands are found spawning by the million! Their ova are sometimes thrown ashore like waves of froth, in unsuitable weather. But during normal seasons, billions upon billions of incubating ova must be carried by currents throughout the North Sea, over months, so that a large proportion must always drift into happy havens, and find congenial temperature and waters. No doubt over centuries the cod has found this a suitable centre for the diffusion of its ova. The balance of chances has been in their favour. It has not been a question of feeding, for the cod of the Lofodens are the most wretched half-starved creatures ever fished. They must go elsewhere for a home and a well-served table. They are sufficient in number to supply the whole North Sea, if this were requiring stocking to make use of the available food. That the cod is a voracious migratory sea-wolf is well known, and cannot be expected to remain where it is either incubated or placed. Certain banks are frequented by it at certain seasons of the year, when it is feeding freely, and is in best condition. It may thereafter disappear absolutely for long periods, and it may cover great stretches of ground during this time. If Lewis fishermen are to be credited, and there is no reason to doubt them, they have taken fish with hooks that

had been swallowed by different fishes from Spain on the one side, and Norway on the other. The attempt to stock a small locality on the edge of the North Sea with cod, seems therefore a most superfluous one. Nature does it infinitely better, and we have no reason to believe that this fine fish is not quite in quantity *up to its food supply*. Is there any good food, or feeding ground, left untouched? Having therefore little faith in the hatching of cod or similar fish alongside the North Sea, whose area may be said to be at the service of each portion thereof; our latest experience rather adds the flat fish to the same list. The fact that the common plaice will travel to a great distance along the coast, combined with the knowledge we have of their hatching operations on a great scale on the fish bank in the Moray Firth called Smith Bank, as well as in the Pentland Firth, points to somewhat similar conditions to those of the cod. From these centres they must spread over great areas, over a considerable period; and neither for quantity, nor skill in arrangement for the future care of the fry, have we yet any data to help us to compete with these natural incubating and diffusing centres.

There has been a tendency to treat marine fishes, on the one hand, as if they were something beyond our ken, and outside the ordinary conditions of knowable living creatures; and, on the other, as if they were the occupants of a hen-coop. Each is wrong on opposite sides of the problem. As a rule the supply of multitudinous fry, where no provision has been made for their reception, only provides food for the fish fauna on the ground, a fauna that would have been greater if the conditions had been favourable. If there is no food on the ground, the fish will in all likelihood be absent; and if present, are only transitory and on the hunt. Where the value of fish-hatching might well be tested in the sea, is in a very different direction. Throughout the Western Scottish lochs, which have mostly a special character of their own, there are years of dearth of the local shoals. We cannot write with certainty as to the cause of this, but it is presumably after they had been fished below the point from which, in an average year, they were able to recover their normal strength. This especially refers to the

herring, but it may also apply to the cod and the haddock, which on the West are mainly fished locally when they come in shore in the spring to spawn. A wild onslaught upon the herring in a confined loch, may well semi-exterminate the local shoal; and this is a fair case in which an effort might be made to recuperate it. For a Western loch is not a part of the ocean, in the same way that a portion of the North Sea is. It requires a local shoal to make the approaches of these concealed waters, except by the merest accident, and when this local shoal is brought down to a condition in which it cannot do more than exist among its natural enemies, a long period may elapse before it is able to re-appear in its former strength so as to form a valuable fishery. The increased extent of netting and its reckless use, has gradually driven the herring further and further out into deeper water to spawn, but a very little care would enable localities to secure a supply of spawn, with which to stock the lochs in which they are specially interested. There should be no difficulty at all in this. In most of the local fisheries of the West there is a period when the spawning fish throw their ova and milt freely in the fishermen's boats, and the spawn thus thrown has been hatched out even in a basin in a room, with the water changed periodically. The experiments of the Fishery Board for Scotland showed, that even at a temperature of 42° Far. the ova hatched out in less than three weeks; while the ordinary temperature of the bottom of the sea, on the West coast of Scotland during the summer season, is very much higher, and the period of incubation probably very much shorter correspondingly. Even in February, one of the principal herring spawning months, the temperature of the sea is not seriously affected by the air temperature in the West. Attention during a very few weeks would therefore be all that would be required to put an enormous stock into the water. The question is, how best it could be done? We are disposed to believe that the sea itself is the best pond for the purpose, more especially the waters into which the fry are to be placed. A set of floating cases of wood and fine wire netting could be supplied with impregnated ova on suitable cultch, and an outer circle of common netting would

prevent the enemies of the fry collecting as the little creatures escape and take to the deep. We prefer some such simple arrangement, so that every important loch could attend to its own interests, and maintain its stock from its own herring, which, as all marine naturalists know, have distinct varietal peculiarities. To attempt to deal with the shoals of the great West, except by well-considered and not hasty regulations, would in our opinion be an act of supererogation, and only lead to disappointment. For the failure in the outer fisheries may be considered as mainly the result of meteorological conditions. Some years these fisheries are earlier, at other times later than usual; when the shoals have ripened much sooner than usual, the fleets are not prepared for them; while again the shoals may come so small as to pass through the nets, from late development. This probably comes from lower surface temperature, or from prevailing winds driving the fish food off the coast, or even the shoals themselves being unable to progress against the persistent pressure of the gales. These great ocean shoals are therefore beyond consideration so far as supplementing them by artificial hatching goes.

On the other hand, although we do not know how far the cod or haddock that spawn on certain banks along the coast may proceed in quest of food, yet as they seem to return to the same grounds annually in the spawning season, it is reasonable to suppose that a certain proportion of the spawn might be saved from destruction at this season, and utilised as a means of maintaining the stock. It may however be questioned whether, if any important fishery of cod and haddock were to spring up on the West about the Inner Hebrides or the lochs, it would not be well to protect to an extent these noted spawning grounds, from whence wide areas are no doubt populated. The fish are of so little value, except to a few local fishermen, at the time of spawning in these inner waters, that an amount of restriction might do little to cause irritation compared with the advantages accruing. But we have not sufficient knowledge to speak authoritatively as to this. Where are the codfish, incubated in the waters of the West in vast multitudes in the early spring, ultimately captured? Once the

spawning season is past, it is probable that they attend upon the herring shoals, like most other predatory fish. At any rate one may fish over great areas at certain seasons, including those they spawn in, without catching a single 'weel-faured' cod or haddock. No amount of artificial incubation would alter this condition of matters. The ground is not at any time rich in the food that attracts these rich-feeding and voracious fish. They will tide over the spawning season with a few crustacea, or stray mollusca; but the mending of a spawned fish, and the ground-work for a new spawning season, is not to be provided by any desultory wandering nondescript creatures. We must clearly appreciate the limitations of the beneficial effects of spawning, or else do as so many have done in the case of fresh waters, incur a heavy expenditure without any corresponding advantages accruing. The world has advanced far beyond the stage of hatching for the sake of showing how many millions they can throw into the water, although the recent work of the latest hatchery on a large scale, that of Dunbar, has been conducted on some such principle. The throwing of plaice into the North Sea in the state of fry, while popularly attractive, is utterly valueless so far as practical fishermen are concerned. The original object of the hatchery, as erected by the Fishery Board was to carry out on a practical scale the experiments understood to have been successful, for the introduction of the more valuable fishes that had become almost exterminated throughout the neighbouring seas. Thus so early as 1883 we find that the Board claim to be able to introduce into such an area as St. Andrews' Bay 'millions of young turbot, sole, and flounders' at a limited expense. True we have the proviso, 'with the necessary appliances;' but if the necessary appliances are not to be found in this latest result of our scientific authorities, with the support of the purse of a public department, where is it to be found? Certain it is that although a great effort was made to do so, and plenty of ripe fish were experimented upon, at very considerable expenditure, little has been done. The mortality has been exceptionally great, and the latest knowledge on the subject of hatching, in which

we have already shown our pre-eminence, cannot have been taken advantage of. If a tithe of the knowledge, care, and assiduity expended on Howieton, and which was still at the disposal of Dunbar, had been expended upon it, we should surely not have had such a tale of failure!

While we have little satisfactory progress to report in this direction, much preparatory work of a useful character has been done by the Fishery Board for Scotland. It has shown the nature of the spawning grounds, and the quantity of ova thrown by different fishes, and otherwise investigated the minor problems respecting our food fishes, upon which the successful conduct of fish-hatching, with a view to stocking depleted grounds, depends. The very fact that the initiatory steps were taken with so much care, makes the further conduct of the enterprise the more unfortunate. What is wanted is a model establishment, to which we can refer the interested public, as a guide for the local work that is sure to arise when districts awake—as they are already awakening—to the necessity of doing what is possible for the preservation of their local fisheries. Dunbar is very far from having reached this position, whatever it may yet do ‘through much tribulation.’

Having acknowledged our lack of a progressive fish-hatchery for marine fishes, on anything like the scale, or in anything approaching the efficiency of Howieton, we thereby own to being unable to claim a substantial advance in this department, comparable with our standing in all other departments of fish and fisheries questions. We are probably breaking nuts with a sledge-hammer, and trying to manipulate the more delicate fishes with what is an ingenious arrangement for cod or had-dock. When we turn to lobsters we are on better ground, although we should have liked greater certainty in results. This has been prevented owing to the distance of the experimenting pond from the investigators. The very simplicity of the arrangement, and the small expense attending it, drew attention away from it to more costly and imposing efforts. Yet it has apparently proved the readiness with which lobsters can be kept in ponds of moderate dimensions, until the berried

hens have thrown their ova into the surrounding waters. No creature has proved less amenable to artificial propagation, if we take Canada as an example, than the lobster; and as incubation is so simple, the reason for the non-success in recuperating exhausted fishings is not self-evident. If the incubated young are to be carried through the various metamorphoses to the stage of localisation as a shore dweller, more extensive and complicated arrangements will be necessary. Also, it must be borne in mind that, if the age of a living creature at maturity is to be judged from the time it takes to incubate, and even further to reach its own proper form, then the lobster must take many years to arrive at a marketable size. A point we have not yet decided either in the case of fish or crustacea is, whether there is any great advantage in carrying them past the early stages before launching them upon the cares of life? There seems every reason to believe that too long continued fostering, before being subjected to the necessity of self-reliance, and skill in procuring sustenance, renders them an easy prey to the multitude of enemies always awaiting such providential supplies of food, under natural conditions. On the other hand, the pelagic existence of the lobster* during its metamorphosis, places it at the disposal of many foes it does not reach once it has settled at the bottom of the sea, in some quiet haven. Would its care up to the true lobster stage unfit it for the future struggle, or would the experience gained in these preliminary stages be valueless in its settled station? If we were to judge by humanity, the experience gained by a 'rolling stone' is of little use to him when he seeks to become a stable unit in the gregarious body of his fellows! We can scarcely calculate less than nine months from the extrusion of the ova to the completed lobster form, and this means a very slow rate of growth to maturity, as well as a long time during which the hatching and subsequent attention must be provided for, if artificial propagation is to be thoroughly carried out. There is no serious practical difficulty to be encountered, and the tough nature of the ova enables

* According to Saville-Kent, one month to six weeks.

them to be sent to any distance without injury ; so that an important central station, with ponds for the retention of the young through all the metamorphoses, could be readily supplied and the produce as easily distributed. Such costly marine creatures deserve some consideration and expenditure.

When we leave crustacea, and turn to the higher mollusca, we are met by difficulties that have to be fairly faced before they can be surmounted. Our treacherous climate has not proved so favourable for oyster cultivation as was at one time anticipated. Yet when we consider that the British seas supplied the brood that enabled M. Coste to establish the oyster fishery of France on its present position of supremacy, there must be some simple reason for the falling off in our oyster fisheries, if the very fact recorded, that so many millions of brood were taken from every part of the coast, for the French beds, is not sufficient. We conclude there is a want of care in connection with our manipulation of the spat after deposition on the cultch ; or else why in the south of England, where a good spatting season has frequently provided a sufficiency of spat, did they never reach the condition of brood, much less the marketable stage ? There seems reason to believe that in private hands the oyster fisheries of France would never have been recuperated, and no commercial success ever have been attained. The same result has been arrived at both in France and Holland. *Individual* beds have been failures, while over all, in such areas as Arcachon, or the East Schelde, a spat has fallen somewhere. The decision of Professor Huxley seems to be, that the returns on the expenditure over the French oyster fisheries has not been satisfactory on the whole from a commercial point of view.* That it has been of advantage to the nation cannot be disputed. This extreme irregularity in spatting, and still more in deposition, should rather point to a system of still greater artificiality. The spat should be caught in small confined ponds, and nurtured until capable of being set out in the beds where they will be in comparative safety. We cannot pretend to rely upon a regular spatting season in

* *English Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1883.

Scotland, seeing that even in England they are most uncertain, and the trade there may be said to have passed into a system of purchasing foreign half-grown oysters and laying them down for a time on the English beds to fatten, and be so far *English* oysters.

The artificial hatching of oysters has not attained the same position of care and accuracy that the hatching of fish-proper has. We have taken an oyster with black spat and, removing these from the mantle, kept them readily for some weeks. In this way we have no reason to doubt that young oysters could be reared every year in our own country, under suitable conditions. But the great variation of temperature, that so generally destroys the spat when it is expelled, and before it has settled down finally, must be guarded against in the hatcheries. The fact that sea water is required, and that of a strong character and not brackish, has no doubt prevented the same attention to this department of the hatching art. The extremely small size of the embryos when excluded from the mothers' protection, is another reason for the absence of experiments in this direction. But these difficulties are by no means insuperable, as the water need not be changed if properly aerated, for the period during which the embryos are active. Once they have attached themselves, they are as readily managed as any other creatures under confinement, and more so than fishes, which will not remain where they are placed as these anchored molluscs will. If the effort were made to hatch out the young oyster in absolute confinement, and to keep them for six months, until about the size of threepenny bits, we have little reason to question the success of the operation. What is wanted is, first, strong sea water at an equable temperature, and then when the larvæ had been secured, a good flow of water with a sufficiency of food. One great advantage that belongs to this class of organism, whether in the open or in special confinement, is the readiness with which they can be cleaned. For while the tiles or other cultch on which they are attached can be removed from the water without doing any injury to the brood, for some hours at a time, this would suffice to send all the clinging enemies into the nearest water.

Until oyster culture has reached this stage of oyster-hatching, and the black spat is removed from the ripe oyster, and cared for all through, as in the case of fishes, we cannot look upon it as a success, seeing the slightest injurious temperature may destroy the whole spatting of a season; and this has occurred so frequently, that both in Ireland and in the South of England, a spat is never anticipated until it is seen well settled. For the last twenty years this has been a rarity. So that the conclusion as to French culture may be still more strongly asserted as to English and Irish, whenever they have attempted to rely on their own supply: viz., 'Favoured by one or two fortunate spatting years, M. Coste made ostreiculture the fashion a quarter of a century ago. A large capital was embarked, in France and this country, in establishing oyster-parks, but it may be questioned whether more than a small fraction of the investment has ever found its way back into the pockets of the investors; and, in many cases, the results have been disastrous.* We attribute this mainly to the rude methods employed, and the absence of security to the embryo from the outset.

We need not touch upon the hatching of any other of the lower classes of marine life, although the hatching of cuttlefish would be considered by some of the liners as quite as important as that, say, of mussels. But mussels themselves are so easily obtained in multitudes around our coasts, and their brood are so plentiful every year, on some point of the shore, not always certain in its range, that they may be considered beyond the necessity of hatching.

Our examination of the present position of the fish-hatching art, therefore, rather points to a greater advance in our knowledge of the subject, than in our application of the information and skill at our disposal. We have an enormous water-privilege in ponds and lakes and lochs that has not been made the most of. Either they are still stocked with an inferior class of fish, probably in too great numbers to be of any size, and without any effort to increase their food supply; or fresh stock

* Huxley, *English Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1883, p. 116.

has been thrown in without knowledge or judgment. Our running waters are so broken up amid conflicting interests, so hampered by legislation, so devoid of any real security of tenure, that unless the Government itself undertakes their care and stocking in the general interest, there seems little prospect of any important advance. If we add to this the want of any vigorous effort towards the purification of rivers, no longer capable of carrying the same stock, owing to drainage, as well as chemical and other impurities; the clashing of interests that prevent the removal of obstructions; and the general lack of systematic control, we can understand why we know more about the true principles of fish-hatching, and do less to give effect to them, than any other people! In comparing this country with others, we must not forget that, while France and America have done good work, it has been done at the public expense; while all our remarkable advance in knowledge has been gained at the expense of private workers, and individual efforts, such as those of Howieton, so freely laid before the public. The success of the States has added little to our knowledge of the art. As in other departments, they have shown appreciation of discoveries made, and a business capacity for carrying into action the ideas formulated. The restocking of their seas with the Menhaden was a simple matter, and the only lesson it conveys to us is that, with a suitable vessel, we could pass round the coast and do the same for our exhausting herring lochs, with advantage to the natives, if not to the general industry. The stocking of the Columbia with salmon, was merely a development of the Stormontfield work on a larger scale. We have learned little of a practical character suited to our own seas from the French oyster culture, because it has not dealt with the hatching-proper of the embryo. This remains to be effectively settled. So far as we are concerned, the condition of the fish-hatching industry may be considered unsatisfactory, owing:—

First.—To the unsettled nature of the ownership of salmon-fisheries, the disturbing character of the legislation, and the want of certainty as to the different anadromous fishes, all preventing joint action in the general interest.

Second.—The strong public sentiment against the salmon tribe as property, the result of ignorance, or selfishness, or the wave of antagonism against all proprietors.

Third.—The increasing pollution of our rivers, which the Commissioner has no power to take action upon, and individuals are not strong enough to tackle, while Societies have no *locus standi* thereanent in law. An enlightened public opinion as to the utilisation of waste waters, quite as much as waste lands, is also desiderated.

As to marine-fish hatching, which is merely a crude development of the more delicate fresh-water hatcheries, it has not been pursued with the knowledge that ought to have been at the disposal of the department in charge. The attempt to apply the methods employed for common fishes to the more delicate and valuable fishes, naturally proved a failure. Oyster-hatching, in contradistinction to oyster-culture, does not seem to have been pursued to any practical purpose, to our knowledge. It is our only hope for the resuscitation of our north-country exhausted beds. Half a dozen oysters in the state of black spat would supply as many embryos as a considerable establishment could satisfactorily carry to the condition of brood, ready for laying out in ponds. As black spat, the embryos are hardier than might have been anticipated, and are quite capable of standing carriage in the parent for some distance, and even when removed therefrom.

With every civilised Government giving great attention to the stocking and full utilisation of their controllable waters, we may reasonably look to our own to take a more practical interest in those problems that especially apply to our waters and our particular conditions. On the East coast we are dealing with waters that are common property to all the nations bordering the North Sea. We know that even plaice returned to the Firth of Forth may be taken in the far north of Scotland, that this flat fish is found all over the area in question, and consequently that the throwing of millions of fry into the mouth of the Forth, even if they ever reached the bottom, would have no appreciable effect on our own especial shore waters. If the area has food for cod, they will throng

down from the abundantly stocked north to reap the harvest. If there is no food, then the artificial supply will disperse at once in search of it. We are indeed ploughing the sand in meddling with the stocking of this international sea, except in conjunction with the other bordering nations, each contributing its quota. We are adding nothing to our knowledge of the subject by following in the wake of nations otherwise far behind us as regards the higher branch of fish-hatching. We can draw neither lessons nor conclusions from our efforts. On the other hand, in the West we have a sea that no one interferes with, many confined waters that are peculiarly susceptible to control, and where hatching operations could reasonably be expected to show results. Conditions are also so varied along this stretch of coast, that many problems never dreamed of on the East present themselves for solution, and may be solved with direct national benefit. In connection with sea-fish hatching, it must be borne in mind that the experience of the best authorities is, as might be expected, that artificially hatched fish are not as vigorous, nor as capable of entering on the struggle for existence, as naturally hatched fry!

In conclusion, we are more than surprised that in Scotland, the foremost fishing nation in Europe, with a superb fishing coast-line, we should be in the first rank as fresh water culturists, but have really added nothing to the knowledge of marine fish-hatching. With the money at the disposal of the fishery department, and their extended organisation, we ought not to have to wait much longer for the settlement of these more apparent problems.

W. ANDERSON SMITH.

ART. VI.—THE LEGAL POSITION OF A CHAIRMAN.

A MEETING may be defined as a concourse of persons entitled by invitation or summons to be present at an appointed time in a specified place for the purpose of their all taking part in the decision of such questions as are competent under the authority expressed in the summons.

This definition obviously excludes that large class of cases in which certain persons convene in pursuance of some object that is of interest to them all, but that does not depend for its realization on any organized expression of their mind or will. Thus, for example, the spectators or the audience in a theatre or a concert-hall, though sitting side by side with one another, and though perhaps for the most part affected alike by the art of the performers, are not, in the strict or proper import of the word, a meeting. They are there, not to deliberate unitedly on any matter, not to determine any issue by voice or vote, but simply as individuals to derive what pleasure or profit they can from the drama or the music. They have come together under one and the same attraction, but, as to the result, they remain in relation to one another the mere isolated units of an inorganic mass. Thought of collectively, they are a whole only in the arithmetical sense, and not in the vital sense of their being members of one body for as long at least as the assemblage lasts.

On the other hand, the definition covers every case in which certain persons convene for some end that, as the condition of its being served by their coming together, presupposes a subject matter to be discussed, and, in respect of that subject matter, a conclusive judgment on their part, set forth in the form of a resolution. A conclusion implies an antecedent process through which differences of opinion, apparent at the outset or subsequently revealed, have been reconciled or overcome, so that the resolution, once it is passed, carries weight as the resolution of the whole. When, as here, a number of persons is figured as a whole, and not as a mere aggregate, the whole is bound to be explained on the principle of organization. The whole, that is to say, is then a body of which the component persons are members.

In application to groups or masses of men, even under a free constitution of the State, the principle of organization adapts itself to difference of type among the objects for which different bodies exist or come to exist.

Thus the *ratio essendi* of a regiment or an army necessitates absolute subordination, through lower and higher ranks, of all the other members of the body to that one member whose

position is at the head. The requirement of obedience to superior authority, on which military discipline is based, renders the will of the colonel or the general in effect that of the regiment or the army. Whether the reason of the commands that are issued be evident or not to those who are called on to execute them, submission to those commands must be expressed in every act or movement, if the body is to preserve its cohesion and be fit for the discharge of its proper functions.

The *ratio essendi*, again, of a meeting determines the organization of a meeting to a form of its own. The object being to propose some question for the consideration of all who constitute the meeting, and to elicit an answer, ay or no, in harmony with reason as reflected in what is found to be the prevailing opinion, all who constitute the meeting are, by necessary hypothesis, so far equal. Regarded, therefore, as members of a body subsisting in or represented by the meeting, they are all co-ordinate. Each is entitled by virtue of this fact to contribute as fully as every other to the discussion of any question that may be brought before the meeting, and each is entitled to have the same weight as every other in settling whether the question shall be answered in the affirmative or in the negative or at all. Theoretically, or in law, no actual difference of personal effectiveness is of consequence. Practically, of course, or in fact, difference of ability among those who have an equal right to be heard on a question, and an equal right to share otherwise in deciding it, renders some more influential than the rest; and difference of ability, though the most telling in the long run, is not the only difference for which allowance has to be made.

Were all the members qualified alike, and were the matter of the question thoroughly threshed out, unanimity would by force of reason be the result of every debate. Even in this case, it is plain, some instrument or organ for interpreting the mind of the meeting would be necessary. Some person would have to be authorized to act as the mouthpiece of the meeting. The person so singled out is called the chairman, from his being usually provided with a chair set in a position of prominence within sight of all who are present. The chair is thus the symbol of the office. The office itself consists in mediating for the time being

the connexion with one another of those who form the meeting, and in ascertaining and declaring the will of the whole.

But the conditions of inevitable unanimity are for the most part absent. Reason is developed in different men in different degrees and with different tendencies to error. Further, the matter of any question is liable in the course of ordinary discussion to be looked at in some one of its aspects, and not on every side. The element of contingency, in short, which enters into all human experience, constantly operates to disturb the force that makes for a unanimous conclusion. If controversy exist in a meeting, debate may or may not bring about agreement, and yet the object of the meeting would be frustrated were persistent difference of opinion effectual to prevent the passing of any definitive resolution. Practical need, therefore, gives rise to the expedient of acknowledging the opinion of a majority, ascertained by taking a vote, to be the mind of the meeting. The expedient is far from being a merely arbitrary adaptation of the readiest means to a desirable end. There is a presumption, founded on the very nature of reason, that a judgment is true or a decision valid, when the number of those who agree in it exceeds the number of those who oppose it. The presumption may in particular cases be overthrown, but this too lies in the nature of reason, and the exception only proves the rule.

In connexion with the business of a meeting what may be called substantive questions have to be distinguished from questions of order. Substantive questions, then, are those to consider and dispose of which is the final cause of the meeting. Questions of order, on the other hand, are those which arise in respect of procedure or progress towards the settlement of substantive questions. Discovery of the mind of the meeting on any substantive question or main issue is never reached *per saltum* or otherwise than step by step. Whether the steps be few or many, they ought all of them to be directed to the one definite end. Order is indispensable for the conduct of business, and, where caprice or individual self-will threatens to break in, order has to be enforced. Motions and amendments have to be proposed, seconded, or supported by speech, under regulations calculated

to insure that free deliberation without which any resolution that may ostensibly be passed is worth nothing.

By what authority are the regulations, thus shown to be necessary, laid down? By what authority are they enforced? Inquiry as to the legal position of the chairman of a meeting is virtually exhausted along these two lines of special inquiry; for, as regards any substantive question, the chairman of a meeting, that has any *ratio essendi* whatever, is the organ of the meeting by means of which the will of the meeting is expressed. A meeting, it is obvious, would contradict the very terms of its definition, were it subject to the chairman or to external constraint in matters that bear to be proposed for the decision of the meeting. Is it in the same or a different predicament as regards rules of procedure and the determining of questions of order?

At this point it becomes important to discriminate among meetings of various kinds, so as to make sure of solid ground to go on. It is never safe to leave differences out of account, though it may appear after all that the differences do not really affect the point at issue.

A meeting, then, may consist of persons associated for only as long as the meeting lasts, or it may be one of a series in the history of a continuing body.

A meeting which consists of persons associated for only as long as the meeting lasts may be summoned in such terms as leave the persons who obey the summons free from any condition of preliminary agreement; or it may be summoned in such terms as bind them throughout the whole proceedings to the support of a particular policy, without requiring them to be unanimous in respect of what is incidental or accessory, or in respect of what is proper to be done. For present convenience the first of these specific types may be named a public meeting, and the second a party meeting, though both of the terms are in ordinary use to denote, not only the difference here intended, but also, and perhaps oftener, differences on other grounds. Thus, for example, any meeting, even a party one according to the foregoing criterion, or one limited as to membership by the constitution of the body which it represents, is commonly spoken of as a public meeting, if its proceedings be conducted openly, so as to admit

the public to the knowledge of them through reports in the newspaper press or otherwise. A party meeting, again, as the term is most frequently applied, means by party no more than political party. But the contrast between a public meeting and a party meeting is familiar enough under these names, and in the sense already explained, to warrant the using of the names in that sense, and in no other, throughout the following argument.

A meeting which is one of a series in the history of a continuing body resembles a party meeting, in as far as the summons is addressed to certain persons, or to a certain class of persons, and not to all persons who may see fit to attend. The condition, however, as stated or implied in the summons, is not agreement in the main in a particular issue, but is simply membership of the particular body which by hypothesis the meeting represents. The particular body, it is true, may be organized on some principle of party community; but, even in such a case, the right to take part in the meeting illustrates the maxim *causa proxima non remota spectatur*, for the right belongs only to members of the particular body, and does not extend to other persons who may be of the same party in general. No doubt a continuing body may sometimes promote, and be the means of calling, a party meeting, or even a public meeting; but the meeting so convened is not a meeting of the body, and does not, by any resolutions which it may pass, bind the body. The characteristic of a meeting of a continuing body, the quality which always differentiates such a meeting from a public or a party one, is this: that the right to share in the proceedings is absolutely confined to those who, under the acknowledged constitution of the body, are on the roll of members.

With reference to the legal position of the chairman of a meeting of a continuing body it is proper to take account of the different ways in which a continuing body may be constituted. The first is by voluntary association on the part of the members, the body thus created not being subject to any statutory regulation, but remaining throughout the whole period of its existence subject only to rules of its own enacting. The various political associations which find a centre in almost every district of the country may be adduced as examples. The second way is by

voluntary association directed to securing for the body thus created certain privileges, of which the enjoyment is conditional on some measure of statutory regulation. A joint stock company incorporated under the Companies Acts, or under a special Act, as the case may be, is a typical instance; and so, also, is a society registered as a friendly society. The third and last of the ways in which a continuing body may be constituted is by public authority, independently or even negatively of voluntary association. It is immaterial as regards the present interest whether the public authority be expressed in an act of the legislature or in a royal charter. Parish Councils, County Councils, Municipal Corporations and Universities are prominent among continuing bodies of the kind now in question. Incorporation, however, is not in every case a requisite. Thus the General Council of a Scots University is a continuing body constituted by public authority, but it is not a corporation.

In whichever way a continuing body is constituted, the chairman at any meeting of the body is seldom elected by the meeting. Most commonly he presides by virtue of his holding some office which has been determined by the constitution of the body as entitling the holder to take the chair at all meetings. The constitution usually provides for the absence of those persons on whom, in a specified order of precedence, it confers the right to preside at meetings, by declaring that, in the absence of them all from any meeting, a chairman shall be appointed by the meeting. In the case of a statutory body, if the chairman be designated by statute, and if by some oversight no provision be made by the statute for the absence of the person designated, it would seem to be competent for the body itself* to enact a standing order supplying the omission. A corporation has a common law power of making by-laws or standing orders in supplement of whatever regulations may be laid down in its charter or in any Act of Parliament under which it subsists, and a statutory body that is not incorporated is in this respect in precisely the same position.

* A subordinate body, like a kirk-session, with a chairman *ex officio*, may require express permission to meet in his absence, and even then may not be empowered to appoint the person who is to preside.

The consequence of neglect by a continuing body to authorize its meetings, from which a person entitled *ex officio* to preside is absent or withdraws, to choose a chairman in his stead, is forcibly illustrated by the record of an occurrence in the London Common Council in the time of the Commonwealth. 'The Lord Mayor refused to put to the vote, or even to listen to, a petition to the House of Commons, in support of the proceedings against the King, and for some hours maintained his position amidst a storm of outcries and abuse. At last he and the two aldermen who alone were present left the room, and thus, according to precedent, condemned the Council to impotence for want of a qualified chairman.*'

As regards all the three classes of meetings which have now been distinguished—public meetings, party meetings, and meetings of continuing bodies—the cardinal question as to the legal position of the chairman is the question as to the ground of the authority in general exercised by him. Is his office ministerial or is it magisterial? Does he derive his authority from the meeting over which he presides, or from some other source? If from the meeting itself, then, obviously, his office is ministerial; he is the servant of the meeting, and is liable to be over-ruled by it in the event of his going against its mind. If, on the other hand, he derive his authority from some source outside, then his office is magisterial; he is the master of the meeting, and is entitled in any conflict of his will and its to prevail.

1. Public meetings.—These are properly the first to be discussed, because they are the primary type, the kind of which other meetings are only modifications more or less marked.

The chairman of an ordinary public meeting is the choice of the meeting, and in most cases is expressly recognized as such by his being formally proposed for the acceptance of the meeting, and by his being unanimously or through the preference of a majority accepted. Even when, as sometimes happens, the person who has convened the meeting, or some one else at the instance of the promoters, takes the chair without his being actually invited by the meeting to do so, on a motion made to

* Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Vol. I., p. 43.

that effect, he presumes on the tacit consent of the meeting. The fact that no one is proposed instead of him argues such tacit consent. But whether the choice of the meeting be express or tacit, that choice is the ground, and the sole ground, of right in any person to preside. It follows that the right endures only for as long as the will of the meeting supports it. If the support be withdrawn, the right terminates. Accordingly, if in the course of the proceedings the meeting for any cause express want of confidence in the chairman, he must retire. In the event of his refusing to yield place to such other person as the meeting may appoint to succeed him, that other person, as representing the will of the meeting, may enforce his removal. The meeting must have a chairman, but it is not *ipso facto* dissolved by the retiral or the displacement from the chair of the particular person first called to fill the office. Just as at the outset it elected a chairman, so on the occurrence of a vacancy, however produced, it can elect a new chairman. Otherwise the purpose of the meeting might be entirely defeated.

It is quite a common thing, more especially when the proceedings are prolonged, for one person to take the place of another in the chair, the outgoing chairman either asking the meeting to name a substitute, or himself suggesting one, or, on occasion, to avoid interruption of the business, making way without appeal to the meeting for some one whom he himself fixes on and privately consults. Even in this last case the devolution of office is not really due to any inherent power in the chairman who is about to leave the chair, for *delegatus non potest delegare*. In what he does he merely interprets what he believes to be the mind of the meeting. If the meeting do not acquiesce in the arrangement, it can forthwith dismiss the new occupant of the chair and put some one of its own preference in his stead.

The chairman during his tenure of the chair can exercise only such authority as expresses the will of the meeting. He is simply the organ for ascertaining and declaring and, when there is need, enforcing that will. The settlement of every question, whether included in the prescribed *agenda* or emerging in connexion with the regulation of the proceedings, belongs of right to the meeting itself. This is the fundamental principle of consti-

tutional law and practice in the matter. In strictness, therefore, the function of the chairman is to put the question, whatever it may be, and whether it be the main question or an incidental one, to the meeting, and, on his thus discovering the mind of the meeting, to give it utterance, and, so far as the meeting is concerned, to give it effect. No power is inherent in the chairman to decide even the most trivial question otherwise than as the mouthpiece of the meeting. To be the mouthpiece of the meeting he must know the mind of the meeting, and in such a case to know means first of all to have inquired.

But the transaction of business would be difficult, and at times perhaps impossible, were debate to arise at every turn on some side issue, or were a vote to be taken on every point of order. Public meetings have all a family likeness, and custom has established certain rules as applicable in general to the conduct of business at such meetings. While, then, each meeting has the right, if it see fit, to depart from custom in the regulation of its proceedings, it may reasonably be presumed in most circumstances to will that which in similar circumstances elsewhere has been proved expedient. On the strength of this presumption, and as a matter of undeniable convenience, the chairman, when a point of order is raised, or any question occurs as to the competency of motions or amendments, is in use to state what, having regard to precedents or immediate urgency, he thinks ought to be done, and is in use, if no objection be taken, to rule at once in accordance with the view he has expressed. His warrant lies, not in the nature of his office, but purely in the presumption of law that, failing an explicit demonstration to the contrary, the will of the meeting is tacitly affirmative of the precedents or the other considerations on which he has grounded his judgment. But it stands to reason that what is presumed to be the will of the meeting must yield to what the meeting itself declares to be its will. The chairman is therefore bound to act in obedience to the expressed will of the meeting, on pain of his resigning the chair or of his being removed by a vote to that effect.

A contest between chairman and meeting has sometimes ended in the chairman's declaring the meeting adjourned or dissolved and leaving the chair. Those assembled have been known to

submit, even when they were unanimous or all but unanimous in desiring the meeting to go on, ignorance or uncertainty on their part as to the lawfulness of their proceeding further under a new chairman being oftenest the cause. But no chairman of a public meeting has the power to adjourn or dissolve the meeting at his own discretion or caprice.* The only source of his authority being the will of the meeting, he can never be entitled against that will to bring the proceedings to a close.

Judicial exposition of the principles of law applicable to public meetings has not been of frequent report either in Scotland or in England; but in the case of *Armour v. Macrae*,† which was tried in the High Court of Justiciary, the deliverances from the Bench went to the root of the matter. In this case the Rev. Matthew Armour, who had been sentenced by the sheriff-substitute to four days' imprisonment for an alleged breach of the peace, brought a bill of suspension—the means in Scots criminal procedure of bringing a conviction by an inferior court under the review of the supreme court. The Court quashed the conviction, holding unanimously that a complaint was not relevant which set forth that the accused had been guilty of a breach of the public peace, in so far as at a public political meeting, when the meeting was invited to put questions to a parliamentary candidate, the accused, instead of asking questions, 'addressed the meeting, and, upon being called to order by the chairman, refused to obey him, and persisted, notwithstanding repeated calls to obey him, in refusing to do so, and did behave in an excited and disorderly manner, and did interrupt, obstruct and disturb the proceedings of the said meeting, and did persist in so doing though warned and admonished by the chairman and others to desist therefrom, in consequence of which a disturbance was created and the chairman had to bring the meeting to a close,' by all or part of which parties present at said meeting, or some of them, were annoyed and alarmed, and a breach of the public peace was committed.

* *Anderson v. Robertson*, 1827, 6 Shaw, 235, bears this out in respect of a meeting of creditors for choosing a trustee.

† 13 *Rettie* (Just. Cas.) 41, (1886).

Lord Young in the course of his judgment said :—‘ Any member of such a meeting is at liberty to address the meeting if he please. There may be restraints upon him, for it may not please the meeting to hear him. But if the meeting desires to hear him, and he desires to address the meeting, I know of nothing to hinder him. It is a question for the individual judgment. . . . Now, there seems to be some superstition about the powers of a chairman. He is elected by the meeting; he exists by their pleasure and at their pleasure; he is their servant to carry out their views; he is impotent so far as he is unsupported by them. That he should be at liberty to dictate to the meeting is entirely out of the question. His duty is to endeavour to keep harmony by conciliatory conduct. But in case of conflict it is the decision of the meeting, and not his decision, that must prevail. This is the case even in the House of Commons, which is the model popular assembly. The Speaker has no authority, except in so far as derived from the House. It is the authority of the House exercised through him. So at an ordinary meeting the chairman is the medium through which the views of the meeting find expression. To say that a member of a meeting with a majority of the meeting at his back commits a crime because he refuses to obey the chairman is as extravagant a proposition as I have ever listened to. . . . The meeting was apparently in sympathy with Mr. Armour, and was desirous that he should speak. He was perfectly at liberty to do so. He was in his right.’

Lord Craighill concurred, ‘ and altogether upon the grounds’ stated by Lord Young. ‘ This meeting,’ he added, ‘ was called in order that all might have an opportunity of hearing what were the views of the candidate and of making him acquainted with the views prevailing there. Moreover, there was no programme by which the course of business was to be determined. There could be no sort of implied contract by which one party should be bound to follow one course, while another party followed another. It was not obligatory to obey the ruling of the chairman. It was a matter of personal consideration whether the chairman should be obeyed, so that the proper object of the meeting should be carried out.’

Lord M'Laren also concurred, 'in the affirmation, that is to say, of the perfect right of a meeting to control its own proceedings.'

2. Party meetings.—Since on the promoters of a meeting rests the whole responsibility connected with it, including the trouble of preliminary arrangements, the expense and so forth, the promoters are entitled to lay down by announcement in calling the meeting the conditions on which the business is to be transacted. Such conditions as may thus be announced are binding on all who respond to the summons. It is seldom, indeed, that any other conditions are prescribed than are involved in the definition of the purpose of the meeting, and it is always understood, when a person is named as intended to take the chair, that his nomination is subject to the approval of the meeting. But any condition is valid, provided it be clearly set forth or implied, and provided it be not contrary to the law of the land. Where, then, the meeting has been called in furtherance of a previously defined policy or a party interest, only such persons as are in general harmony with the avowed object have any right to take part in the proceedings, though the meeting may not be a private one in the sense of shutting out all who are hostile to the aims of the promoters. Opponents, when they are present, are present on sufferance. They are not members of the meeting. They have no claim to be heard and no right to vote. Any motion or amendment, therefore, that contradicts the purpose for which the meeting has been convened, is on the very face of it incompetent. The chairman is bound to disallow it, and he may call in the aid of the police to remove, on a charge of breach of the peace, any person who persists in attacking his authority in the matter.* In exceptional circumstances, as where there are more than a few of those present whose conduct strikes against the object of the meeting and so makes for disorder, he may be warranted in adjourning or dissolving the meeting. The authority thus exercised by the chairman, in refusing to entertain motions or amendments which are inconsistent with the predetermined object of the meeting, and in enforcing obedience to his ruling

* *Sleigh and Russell v. Moxey*, 1850, *Shaw's Just. Court Rep.*, p. 369.

of such motions or amendments as incompetent, so far from being arbitrarily assumed and so far from being derived *ab extra*, in truth expresses and represents the will which is definitive of the purpose of the meeting—the will, that is to say, of the promoters, and of those who have assembled in support of the object stated in the summons.

For the rest, the relation of the chairman to the meeting is exactly the same as in the case, already considered, of a public meeting, where the purpose of the meeting does not commit beforehand those who constitute the meeting to the adoption of a specified policy or to the support of a particular side on this or that question. In the event of disagreement between the chairman and the meeting, the chairman must give way, if the meeting so insist. At times, it is true, his decision, though it be obviously contrary to the mind of the meeting, is either allowed to pass without express challenge, or, after objection has been stated, is accepted as final without further demur or any formal protest. This deference to the chair, or to the particular person who occupies the chair, is a tribute to the efficiency with which the functions usually entrusted to the chairman are in general discharged, and is not peculiar to the membership of party meetings. Of course, where the issue is of serious consequence, the meeting would stultify itself by acquiescing in a ruling at variance with its own mind, and in every such case therefore it is morally bound, since it has the power, to assert itself against the chairman, even at the cost of perhaps losing his services.

The law relating to party meetings, so far as it is not also the law of public meetings, finds illustration in the case of *Sleigh and Russell v. Moxey*.^{*} A suspension was brought in the High Court of Justiciary by Mr. Sleigh and Mr. Russell of a sentence which had been passed on them in the police court of Edinburgh. The facts set forth in the complaint or otherwise established were in brief these:—that, in compliance with a requisition, the Lord Provost had called a meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity opposed to the Bill then before Parliament for legalizing the marriage of a widower with his deceased wife's

^{*} *Supra*.

sister, with the view of petitioning against the Bill; that the requisitionists, or some of them, together with other opponents of the Bill, had duly assembled at the appointed time and place; that the Lord Provost, having been chosen by the meeting to be its chairman, had presided; that, after the first resolution had been proposed and seconded, Mr. Sleigh had risen to speak; that he had evidently come to oppose and obstruct the proceedings; that, had he been allowed to proceed, he would evidently have been the cause of general annoyance and disturbance; that, in disregard of repeated admonitions from the chair, and against the manifest feeling of the meeting, he had persisted in his attempts to make himself heard in objection to the predetermined purpose of the meeting; that, as the only means of restoring order and preventing more serious consequences, he had been taken into custody; that afterwards Mr. Russell, having acted in like manner, had in like manner been removed; and that then the business of the meeting had proceeded without interruption. The Court refused the note of suspension, or, in other words, dismissed the appeal.

Commenting on this case, when six and thirty years later it was made the ground of argument for the respondent in *Armour's* case, Lord Craighill pointed out * the difference between the two meetings as regarded constitution, the earlier one having been, 'not a general public meeting' but 'a meeting of persons asserting particular views,' so that 'any one, not being of those who supported those views, who sought to interfere, was obviously the occasion to public discord, and to a disturbance by which people were prevented from considering those matters to consider which was the purpose of the meeting.' Lord M'Laren, who concurred in the observations of Lord Craighill as to the case of *Sleigh*, added †:—'The case there stands on the same footing as a private meeting. Any person introducing himself into such a meeting, to oppose the views to support which it was convened, or to introduce any irrelevant matter, might be summarily ejected.' The chairman who ordered the ejection would not be

* 13 *Rettie* (*Just. Cas.*), 44.

† *Ibid.*, 44.

answerable in damages for any injury that might be inflicted on the offender by the policemen or others who acted on the order.*

3. Meetings of continuing bodies.—The object, as defined in the constitution, of a continuing body necessarily sets limits to the activity of any meeting. But, over and above the ultimate and general criterion of competency thus established, other and more specific conditions, bearing directly on the procedure at meetings, are commonly embodied in standing orders. These standing orders, being mostly of voluntary adoption, are *pro tanto* susceptible of alteration or amendment from time to time by a proper exertion of the will of the body to that effect, and they even provide in general for their own suspension at any meeting under precautions calculated to guard against abuse of the proviso. If the relation between chairman and meeting be at all different in the case of a meeting of a continuing body from what it is in the case of an ordinary public or party meeting, the difference must be determined by the constitution of the body or by the standing orders. There is no other possible source of difference. Now, the same reason which prompts a continuing body to lay down rules for the conduct of business requires it to bind by these rules the chairman of any meeting as well as those over whom he presides, and forbids it to give the chairman powers as against the meeting which he does not possess at common law. It is, to say the least, as vitally the interest of the body to preserve freedom of debate and freedom of resolution as it is to secure order. Order, indeed, and all rules of procedure enacted with a view to order, are properly to be thought of only as instrumental to such freedom. Hence it is in the last degree improbable that any continuing body would by an act of its own will vest the chairman of its meetings with authority which he might exercise to the effect of annulling the common law right of the meetings, as of all other meetings, to control their own proceedings; and, so far as appears, no continuing body has ever done so. Nor, where the body is the creature of statute, does the statute creating it confer in any instance on the chairman power to contravene the constitutionally expressed will of a meeting or

* *Lucas v. Mason*, 1875, Law Reports, 10 Exchequer 251.

power to prevent the constitutional expression of that will.* Almost uniformly in modern practice such a statute gives the chairman a second or casting vote, to which he has no right at common law;† but *quoad ultra* it leaves the ordinary relation of chairman and meeting unchanged. The reason is plain. A meeting, in order to have motive or meaning at all, must be free, within the limits of the purpose for which it is convened, to utter its mind or will. Let it be made subject to arbitrary rule on the part of its chairman, and the sole condition on which it can claim respect for its proceedings is at once destroyed.

Here, however, it is in place to note that there may in certain cases be matters connected with the business of a meeting which have to be decided immediately on their presenting themselves, but which, because they are not the business of the meeting, fall to be decided by the chairman in virtue of authority derived from the constitution or a standing order of the body represented by the meeting. Thus, for example, in an English case,‡ where the chairman at a confirmation meeting disallowed certain votes which had been given against the confirmation of a resolution passed at the first meeting appointing a liquidator, the effect of such disallowance being to confirm the resolution, and he made an entry in the minute book that the resolution had been confirmed, the court, in the absence of evidence that the votes were improperly disallowed, declined to question the decision of the chairman. But having regard to the unsatisfactory state of the evidence, the Court of Appeal in the interest of all parties by its own order confirmed the appointment of the liquidator. The validity of the votes was not a question for the meeting, if for no deeper reason than that what might be the mind of the meeting depended on the validity of the votes. Even for the chairman the question was a proper one only as incidental to the duty which lay on him *ex officio* to take the poll. His deciding of it

* A recent ordinance of the Universities Commission, affecting the General Councils of the four Universities of Scotland, has given the chairmen of these bodies this unprecedented power.

† *Campbell v. Stirling*, 1816, 6. Paton, 238.

‡ *In re Indian Zoedone Company*, 1884, Law Reports, 26 Chanc. Div. 70.

one way or the other was necessary to enable him to discharge the special function which, as chairman, he was under a statutory requirement to discharge; but his decision, though definitive relatively to that function, was open to challenge on the merits, and might be set aside on subsequent appeal to the court. In delivering judgment in the case the Lord Chancellor (Selborne), after referring to the sixty-seventh section of the Companies Act, 1862, as shewing 'that the minutes in the books are to be received, not as conclusive, but as *prima facie* evidence of resolutions and proceedings at general meetings,' went on to say 'and also it may be added, and I think correctly, that inasmuch as the chairman who presides at such meetings, and has to receive the poll and declare the result, has *prima facie* authority to decide all emergent questions which necessarily require decision at the time, his decision of those questions will naturally govern, and properly govern, the entry of the minute in the books; and, though in no sense conclusive, it throws the burden of proof upon the other side, who may say, contrary to the entry in the minute-book, following the decision of the chairman, that the result of the poll was different from that there recorded.'

The same principle is illustrated in a different state of facts by another English case.* At a meeting to elect a mayor the votes were equal. The retiring mayor as chairman, acting in accordance with his statutory duty in the circumstances, declared that there was no election. He then, without any objection from those present, dissolved the meeting, and accompanied by several electors left the room. After his departure a new meeting was constituted under the chairmanship of the person entitled to preside in the mayor's absence, and a form of election was gone through. The Court held the election void, as having been accomplished by surprise and fraud and without notice. Neither the declaration of the chairman as to the result of the voting, nor (the election being supposed a condition precedent to the transaction of other business) his declaration that the proceedings were at an end, was a matter competent to be called in question

* *Rex v. Gaborian*, 1809, 11 East, King's Bench Reports, 77. Cf. also *Machell v. Nevinnson*, 1725, 11 East, 85, 87n.

by the meeting. Both declarations were made in the exercise of authority derived from the constitution of the continuing body—the municipal corporation—represented by the meeting. Both were bound by the constitution to be made.

Where the constitution and the standing orders under which a continuing body exists are unambiguous in their terms, there is practically no danger of difference between a meeting and its chairman as to matters thus determined. But now and then, from some cause or other, controversy may arise as to the application of a standing order, say, or the interpretation of some article of the constitution. The chairman's own reading of the regulation cannot on any principle of reason be allowed to prevail against that of the meeting. There is here, as elsewhere, a presumption in favour of the correctness of the view taken by the majority. The chairman, therefore, however steadfastly he may hold to his opinion, must, if he fail to convince or persuade the meeting, put the question moved from the side of his opponents, and, on its receiving the greater number of votes, must declare it carried. To put the question and declare the result is a purely administrative act on his part, which his duty as chairman requires him to perform, and his performance of which is absolutely without prejudice to any interest he may have in afterwards bringing the decision of the meeting before a Court of Law. He cannot refuse to put the question on the plea of its being incompetent, for its competency or incompetency is the very point at issue. He may choose to leave the chair rather than put the question, but he cannot prevent the meeting from proceeding under another chairman, except, of course, in the rare case, already considered, of his being a statutory chairman, and of there being no provision by the constitution or the standing orders for the event of his absence or withdrawal.

Many points of order, including most questions as to the competency of motions or amendments, cannot be specifically determined, or brought by instance within rule, until they actually emerge. These are by far the most apt to occasion difference between chairman and meeting, and *a fortiori* of them the decision of the chairman is valid only as it carries the assent of the meeting. In respect of such points of order there is nothing

to distinguish a meeting of a continuing body from a public or a party meeting governed simply by the common law. The authority of the chairman to say what is in order and what is not has the same basis and the same sanction in the one case as in the others. Its basis is the will of the meeting, and its sanction is the common law. Of right, then, any conflict between the ruling of the chairman and the will of the meeting must end, as of right in a public meeting it ends, in the chairman's being over-ruled. On a motion made and seconded to the effect that his ruling does not express the mind of the meeting, he is bound to put the question and to declare the result. If the result be adverse to the decision which he has given, he must bow to the authority which any authority vested in him only expresses or reflects.

The duty of a chairman to put the question and declare the result, even when the motion is one which proposes to reverse his ruling, is unqualified. At common law his sole function is to ascertain and express the mind of the meeting. He is not the judge of order, though most meetings, as a matter of expediency, allow him to act in the exercise of this office, under reservation of their own ultimate right.† But the function which the law lays on him he must discharge, or else he must vacate the chair. The records of the House of Commons furnish a memorable example of discharge of the function in the extreme case of a motion directed, not against a ruling from the chair, but against the occupant of the chair for alleged corruption. In the year 1695 Sir John Trevor, then Speaker of the House, was expelled on the ground of his having taken bribes to further the passing of a bill, and he had not only to put the question which affirmed his guilt, but to declare that 'the ayes' had it.*

* The House of Lords, which has a chairman *ex officio* in the person of the Lord Chancellor, retains in its own hands the settlement of all questions of order. Had there been any Court of Law with jurisdiction to determine differences between him and it, the House might long ago have conformed to the more convenient practice of the House of Commons, which, as it elects and can dismiss its Speaker, vests him in large measure with its own authority.

† Macaulay's *History of England*, chap. xxi.

It is conceivable that a chairman *ex officio* might refuse to put a particular question, especially if it sought to reverse his ruling on some point of order. Were he to do so, and were he the only person capable, under the constitution of the body, of taking the chair, a practical impediment to the transaction of business would arise, insuperable otherwise than by recourse to a Court of Law. But in the event of there being, as usual, provision for a devolution, in case of need, of the chair on one designated person after another, and in the end on any person whom the meeting might see fit to elect, a refusal by the chairman to put the question, even if accompanied by a refusal to leave the chair, would seem not to create any such serious difficulty. There is no judicial authority on the point, but the principle applicable to the circumstances can hardly be in doubt. Wherever A, or in his absence B, has by statute or otherwise a right to take the chair, the right so established necessarily implies the duty of performing the proper function of a chairman; and it stands to reason that a refusal to fulfil the duty involves, for as long as the refusal lasts, a forfeiture of the right. The chairman's refusal, therefore, to put the question, or, having put it, to act on the decision of the meeting, suspends his right to be in the chair, and, because the meeting must have a chairman, entitles any member to move that the person next in order of designation, or, in default of such person, then some one else, do take the chair. The chair being at the moment vacant *de jure*, though perhaps occupied *de facto*, the meeting may, if it see need, commission some person who is present to declare its mind on the motion. The new chairman, armed with the authority of the meeting, is entitled, in the event of resistance, to enforce his predecessor's removal.

Powers which at common law belong to the members of a continuing body in meeting assembled may, without derogation from the autonomy of the body, be vested in the chairman, even when he sits *ex officio*, provided that, as regards the exercise of those powers, the ministerial character of his office be preserved. As long as there is nothing in the constitution or the standing orders to the contrary, this condition is satisfied in the case, which is in fact the ordinary case, of the chairman's being traditionally clothed with a prerogative in matters of order by the tacit con-

sent of those over whom he presides. In the case, however, of his deriving the authority from an express grant contained in a standing order, it is essential to the free activity of the body that the common law right of every meeting should in effect be reserved by the insertion of a proviso declaring that it shall be open to any member to move that the meeting disagree with the chairman's ruling, and declaring further that, if such motion on its being duly seconded be supported by a majority of the members voting, the decision of the chairman shall be held reversed.

The explicit enactment of a regulation in the terms now suggested is a point of prudence, for it obviates the ignorance which, when the true relation of chairman and meeting is not thus made clear, often causes the chairman to assume magisterial authority and the meeting to suffer defeat of its will. When the dependence of the chairman on the support of the meeting is perfectly understood, all experience, from that of the House of Commons downwards, goes to show that the chairman's consciousness of responsibility quickens and keeps alive his endeavour so to conduct the proceedings as to deserve support, and that, on the other hand, the meeting's confidence in his general rectitude and discretion predisposes it on every occasion to accept his decision as final. A chairman who has the qualities that fit a man for the position can usually show some reason for his ruling, so that in most cases of its being disputed he is able by a few words of explanation to remove objection, or at any rate to satisfy the meeting as a whole. If he discover that he has made a mistake, he can always by correcting the mistake command respect and smooth the way for what business remains to be done. If, notwithstanding indications of dissent, he still believe that he is in the right, he may insist on a formal motion to test the mind of the meeting; but, if the vote be against the decision which he has pronounced, then he must yield. Having stated and recommended his view, he is not concerned, in his character of chairman, to uphold that view against the will of the meeting. No censure is involved in the meeting's disagreeing with his ruling. Where he has been elected by the meeting, he may perhaps take the rejection of his guidance in a particular matter to mean that the confidence in his judgment expressed in his nomination and

appointment has not been held justified, and on this assumption he cannot with due regard to his own dignity continue in the chair. But where he presides *ex officio*, he is no more entitled to consider a reversal of his ruling a personal affront or slight than the mover of any resolution is entitled so to consider the meeting's refusal to pass the resolution. Being irremovable by the meeting, and yet deriving his authority solely from its will, the chairman *ex officio* has no right to feel offended or aggrieved, if the meeting sometimes follow a course contrary to that which he has pointed out as in his view the proper one; but in consideration of those services in the conduct of business which, although they are beyond the strict limits of his duty, custom exacts from him; he has such a claim to special deference as the courtesy of the meeting may always be trusted to allow.

W. R. HERKLESS.

ART. VII.—PIERRE LOTI AND THE SEA.

WE have heard much of late of the sea in connection with history. It has been reserved for an American to show the influence which the ocean has exercised over the development of great States, the part which it has played in the drama of international politics. The work in which all this is traced is becoming a text book in our Universities. Its author has been recently in our midst; and we have accorded to him the highest tokens of British hospitality—dinners and degrees.

It would be interesting perhaps if some one would pursue an enquiry on similar lines in reference to literature. To trace the influence of the sea over the poets and imaginative writers of Europe would surely be an entrancing task. Nor would it be one involving much labour or research, the area of enquiry hardly extending further backwards than the present century. For the love of the sea seems to be a passion of very recent evolution. In the early ages of the world the ocean appears

to have been viewed from a strictly utilitarian standpoint. It was a road to discovery and conquest. It was a defence against foreign foes; or—the fixed idea of English mediæval politicians—a highway facilitating attack. Or again, it was a means of stimulating an undue love of commerce, and occasioning the influx of a restless population, dangerous to a well-ordered State: thus Aristotle advises that there be little communication between a city and its harbour, and Plato declares that the ideal State must be placed at some distance from the sea, which ‘begets in the souls of men unfaithful ways.’

It is in the north of Europe that a feeling of the *sea's* mysterious and fascinating *personality*, its attractiveness, its irresistible power, is first developed. Norse literature exhibits a sense of comradeship, a fierce delight in its wild freedom. The legends of Brittany and Sark and Cornwall are imbued with its mystery and terror. But it is not till the present century that the *love* of the sea is plainly visible in literature. Dante has a few sweet lines indicative of observation of certain marine aspects; Shakespeare, some fine descriptive passages scattered throughout his plays, together with Ariel's songs and the storm scene of the *Tempest*; but we have to wait for Byron and Shelley and Heine for any real traces of susceptibility to the sea's indefinable power. Matthew Arnold, Tennyson, and more than either, Swinburne, have shown us their acute perception of ‘deep sea-meanings’ and ‘sea-magic’; and Ruskin has described the aspects of sky and ocean in some of his most magnificent out-pourings of prose poetry.

For typical examples of the influence of the sea on the novel we must look, strange to say, to France. There has been a good many English stories of nautical life; and of late years, a voyage in a P. & O. steamer or Atlantic Liner has become an almost indispensable incident in the life of a hero or heroine. It is a far harder, and quite a different thing, to write a novel of the sea,—to put upon paper something of the ocean's fulness of life, its great monotony, its endless variety; and no other nation has produced anything in this direction which can compare with Victor Hugo's *Travailleurs de la Mer*, or with the work of that latest of sea-novelists, the French

naval officer, inscribed in the Navy List as Jules Viaud, but received into the Academy, and known to the world, as Pierre Loti. No other writer so completely makes us feel what Sharpe has called the 'strange magnetic glamour of the sea,' through all its varying moods and aspects. He shows us it by night and day, in calm and storm, in fog and sunshine, under the southern cross and beneath the pale twilight of the midnight sun: and true literary magician, he calls up before our mental vision scenes which our bodily eyes have never beheld; while an adjective or adverb in his hands becomes a spell making us feel the clinging dampness of a sea-mist, or the saltiness of the spray-filled atmosphere, or 'the humid freshness, more penetrating than real cold,' of the northern seas.

Again Pierre Loti is one of the few writers who have distinctly shown the sea's formative power on human character. We cannot think of Yves or Yann, Gand or Sylvestre, apart from their surroundings. We cannot imagine them living inland. They are the sea's children. The Breton peasants of *Pêcheur d'Islande* belong to their environment as much as the grey rocks and stunted trees belong to that wind-swept coast.

It is not a little significant that the two books by Pierre Loti which have acquired, and are likely to retain, most popularity, are those in which the influence of the sea is conspicuous. There is a breezy vitality about them which contrasts favourably with the languor of his other writings. *La bonne odeur des navires et de la mer* seems to keep them sweet and wholesome. His earlier books are undoubtedly unique in their peculiar grace, in their curious originality of fancy, and in the quality of that indescribable attribute which we vaguely indicate as *charm*. But undeniably also they contain a good deal of meretricious sentiment, a good deal that is forced, artificial, and unwholesome. Neither the subtle exotic perfume of *Le Mariage de Loti*, nor the dreamy sweetness and penetrating pathos of *Fantôme d'Orient* and *Aziyadé*, can deaden our perceptions of the fact, that these books are at once the outcome and expression of finished and essential selfishness. They display a childlike irresponsibility,

which attracts or repels according to the reader's mood, but which necessarily takes all the humanity out of them. They are brimful of emotion, and utterly devoid of heart, and through them runs the listlessness and affectation of the dilettante and amateur.

In France they attracted the notice of connoisseurs of literary style, but never attained anything approaching popularity. In this country they never have been, and are never likely to be widely read. On the whole, at this stage of Pierre Loti's fame, it were perhaps best that they should be forgotten.

Nor will the collection of brief unconnected sketches entitled *Livre de la Pitié et de la Mort*, materially add to their author's reputation, while the English translation of this recent work—though proving that anything bearing Pierre Loti's name is now eagerly welcomed—is calculated to diminish, rather than enhance its popularity on this side of the Channel. For the charm of these slight sketches lies in the peculiar touch of the artist, in the perfect correspondence between the words used and the emotions and impressions they are intended to convey, and to reproduce the subtle grace of Pierre Loti's French would be an impossible literary feat. The delicate aroma of his style evaporates in translation, leaving a residuum of flavourless sentimentality. In our matter of fact English tongue, his pathos becomes almost ludicrous; his extraordinary unreserve seems bald and unpleasing; his parade of personal grief is distressing, almost repulsive.

On the whole we may say that Pierre Loti's fame at present rests upon *Le Roman d'un Enfant*, *Pêcheur d'Islande*, and *Mon Frère Yves*; and in these three books, the influence, the *personality* of the sea, is unceasingly kept before us. Whether, or in what degree, we enjoy these books, necessarily depends upon our individual tastes. But whatever measure of appreciation or of censure we accord to them, we must at least acknowledge that they are unlike anything we have read before.

Pierre Loti is too essentially the product of this end of the nineteenth century to have any literary ancestors; while his writings have a certain quality which marks him off from his

contemporaries, and makes us look forward to a new and healthier future; a quality which may best be indicated by some words of his own. 'The ideal,' he declared in his Academic oration—'the ideal is everlasting. It may be concealed; it may sleep for a time. But already, at the end of our century, it is awaking, with Mysticism, its brother. They are not quite the same perhaps as in past days. They seem troubled, dizzy, scarcely knowing what to cling to in the general confusion. But they are still alive, and we are once more beginning to behold them through the murky smoke of Realism.'

So completely does Pierre Loti stand alone, that it is difficult even to name an author with whom one can compare him. The only writer of whom he occasionally distinctly reminds us is Nathaniel Hawthorne. The New Englander and the Frenchman, separated in time by the dividing line of the half-century, have at least this in common: both of them seem nearly to have found what Pierre Loti professes to desire, 'a special language in which to write of dreams and visions.' The sketch entitled *Rêve*, the pearl of the *Pity and Death* collection, certain passages in *Pêcheur d'Islande*, and two or three chapters in *Le Roman d'un Enfant*, remind one strangely of *Mosses from an Old Manse* and *Tangled Tales*. There is the same subdued melancholy, the same haunting power, the same extreme tenuity of structure and minute delicacy of touch. But the peculiar 'twilight atmosphere,' and ghostly eeriness, as well as the noble Puritanism of the New Englander have no counterparts in the work of the modern Frenchman; while Loti far surpasses Hawthorne in the power of putting into language 'd'insaisissables choses,' and describing vague emotions, broken memories, inexplicable sensations. Nowhere is this power so conspicuously displayed as in *Le Roman d'un Enfant*.

The book has a triple interest. Pierre Loti himself describes it as 'le livre le plus intime que j'ai jamais écrit,' and to many of his admirers its biographical and personal character constitutes its greatest charm.

Secondly, it presents us with a series of delicately tinted pictures of a phase of French domestic life peculiar to certain

old provincial towns—and, even in them, rapidly passing away—a ‘vie de famille,’ almost idyllic in its restful simplicity, lived in one of those tall, roomy, whitewashed ‘maisons de province’—‘donnant sur la rue,’ but with delightful walled gardens at the back—which are large enough to contain a perfect tribe of relatives, who live together in marvellous amity, assembling each evening round the family dining-table, and afterwards sitting together in the sheltered ‘cour,’ or the great wainscotted ‘salon.’

Lastly, the *Roman d'un Enfant* is a minutely accurate study of the ‘mysterious beginnings’ and gradual development of a child’s mind and character.

‘Is there anyone,’ writes George Eliot, in the *Mill on the Floss*, ‘who can recover the experience of his childhood, not merely with the remembrance of what he did, and what happened to him when he was in frock and trousers, but with an intimate penetration, a revived consciousness of what he felt then, when it was so long from midsummer to midsummer?’

Pierre Loti has done so. As we read the *Roman d'un Enfant*, our own fading recollections acquire renewed distinctness. Once more we look on life with the child’s oblique, contracted, yet curiously acute vision; once more the winter twilight inspires us with vague uneasiness, and the wild flowers in the hedges, or the freshness of a spring morning, fill us with joyous excitement; once more we feel our old unmitigated confidence in the ‘grown-up-people,’ whose stories of ‘when they were young’ seem like antique myths; once more we suffer the confused questionings, the formless terrors, the agonizing scruples, the ‘bitter sorrows’ of childhood.

Yes, Pierre Loti has translated into ‘grown-up’ speech the ‘insaisissables choses’ of childhood, and the *Roman d'un Enfant* appeals to us because it puts into language things we too have experienced, but could not have explained. Perhaps we shall agree with his protest against the popular notions that childhood is a time of supreme and careless gaiety, the happiest period of human existence. Perhaps we shall echo his decision when, looking back on those early days from the vantage

ground of manhood, he declares that he has 'never suffered in his grown-up life as he did when he was a child.'

Undoubtedly these childish sufferings may in great measure be attributed to the super-sensitiveness induced by the peculiar circumstances of his child-life. We see him, a docile, timid, solitary child, growing up among devoted relatives, not exactly over-indulged—for there is a certain austerity about this Huguenot family—but 'too forced, too looked-after, too morally and physically coddled (*cafénté*).' His fits of vague restlessness, his passionate longing for a life of travel and unfettered roaming—emotions which Pierre Loti evidently regards as singular and significant—seem to his readers merely a boy's natural revulsion from an unnatural existence. Possibly, too, some of little Pierre's most painful childish impressions are less abnormal than M. Loti supposes them to be. We venture, for example, to assert that many children have shared his dread of growing up, of growing old, and his momentary, sickening realizations of the swift, swift flight of time, bringing him ever nearer to 'Ce grand trou béant de la mort.'

It is perhaps because Pierre Loti finds it impossible to look beyond that 'yawning gulf' that he refers so frequently to the idea of some previous existence—a shadowy hope, derived from the inexplicable intuitions of childhood. Certain mental experiences, he thinks, can be explained only as 'ressouvenirs de pré-existences personnelles.' And, with this notion, he invariably associates another—the idea of hereditary forces, shaping his life with the power of an inexorable destiny. On these two cords of thought the stray reminiscences of youth are strung. Each event of childhood is shown in relation to the Past and to the Future.

Look, for example, at the chapter describing little Pierre's first sight of the sea. The vast stretch of green waters filled him with a strange terror, but no surprise. He had always known it was like this. *He recognised it, and trembled.* It was so cruel, so sinister, so strangely attractive. As he stood there, face to face with it, some dim presentiment—so Pierre believes—forced itself into his childish soul that this sea would some day claim him for its own, as it had done his sailor-ancestors,

'despite my hesitations, despite the wishes of those who would fain have kept me by them.'

Little Pierre has none of the ordinary boy's infatuation for a sailor's life. Its roughness, and the long absences from home which it entails, make it positively distasteful to the delicately nurtured child, 'trop attaché au foyer, trop enlacé de mille liens très doux.' But every picture, story, relic, of the tropics seems to touch a chord of memory, and to quicken a desire for the life of those 'pays chaud,' till the thought of 'going through the world without seeing it' becomes intolerable.

Then, one day, by a chance so curious that one can hardly wonder that Pierre Loti regards the circumstance with a touch of superstitious awe, an old log-book, 'un cahier en gros papier rude d'autrefois,' reveals to him the possibility of satisfaction in a sailor's life.

'Beau temps—Belle mer—Legère brise de Sud Est—Des bancs de dorades qui passent par bâbord.'

These brief words, read hastily, stealthily, in the gathering twilight, continually haunt him. And ever, like some magical incantation, they call up before the boy's quick fancy visions of the 'vast, melancholy, blue splendour of the Southern Ocean.'

Little by little the idea of a naval career takes possession of him. Circumstances conspire to break down the opposition of his relatives. And thus the sea draws him forth 'as with a magnet,' despite his 'many hesitations.'

The life which had at once attracted and repelled little Pierre, the life of the sea, with its charm and its hardships, its freedom and its restraints, was depicted with extraordinary faithfulness and vigour in the book which first acquired for its author wide-spread literary popularity. *Mon Frère Yves*, brought into notice by M. Brunnetière's critique in *La Revue de deux Mondes*, immediately caught the Parisian fancy. It dealt with no vexed questions, it propounded no new doctrines. It had very little incident,—for avowedly Pierre Loti had put into it 'the great monotony of the sea'; nor had it brilliancy of dialogue, or dramatic situations, or the 'restless love' which

had pervaded its author's earlier works. But its spontaneity and freshness made it a new sensation.

Its plot may be briefly summarized. Yves is a Breton and a sailor, with the virtues and the vices of a Breton and a sailor. 'On board always indefatigable and industrious, neat and spruce. On shore, drunken and rowdy; the sailor picked out of the gutter in the morning, plundered and half-naked, and who fights with gendarmes and draws his knife upon alguazils.' He has the true Breton's curiously opposed characteristics:—fine physique and huge physical strength, combined with the gay insouciance and inherent simplicity and goodness of a little child, immense powers of endurance, yet childish lack of self-control; capacity for dog-like affection, and for love, which, to quote the words of M. Renan, is nearly always 'discret, tendre, fidèle, avec une légère teinte de mysticité,' together with a terrible, well-nigh ineradicable passion for drink,—'that irremediable curse which consumes the race of Breton seafarers.'

Yves is half a savage, but he is tender-hearted and intelligent, and possesses a certain natural dignity and tact which largely supply the lack of education; while his capacity for silent musing, and susceptibility to the various moods and aspects of nature constitute real points of contact between himself and 'Monsieur Pierre,'—the officer with whom he has been thrown repeatedly from the very outset of their respective careers, and whom he serves devotedly as 'gabier de hamac.' Little by little, under the influence of 'Monsieur Pierre's' sympathy and interest, which deepens into sincere paternal affection, Yves Kermadec succeeds in 'working out the brute,' and frees himself from the slavery of an hereditary vice. As his character ripens and grows more complex, it seems to take a deeper shade of melancholy. But we take leave of him self-possessed and self-respecting, happy in the love of wife and child, and dwelling—ever the Breton sailor's dream—in a little house of his own, in which a room is always kept for 'Monsieur Pierre.'

This is the plot of *Mon Frère Yves*. The mad pranks, the striving after better things, the relapses, the repentance of a

common sailor—that is all. But the narrative is accompanied by the monotonous, ever-varying music of the sea, and interspersed with pictures of Breton life and scenery, soft, grey, low-toned landscapes, exquisitely faithful and tender.

We select at random a sketch of the home of Yves' sweet young peasant wife, Marie Keremenen. She and her husband are staying with the 'old people' during one of Yves' brief sojourns on shore; and there Monsieur Pierre pays them a few day's visit.

'Toulven in the spring-time, with the lanes full of primroses.

'Through the great leafless woods, through the naked boughs of oaks and beeches, passes the first warm breath of spring, bringing to us in this gay Brittany an effluence of other lands, a memory of brighter climes, and announcing the approach of a short pale summer, with long, long sweet evenings.

'We are all assembled outside the cottage door; the two old Keremenen, Yves, his wife, little Corentine, and little Pierre.

"'Take me up, take me up, God-father!" cries little Peter, stretching out his arms to me.

'But his father wants to have him. Raising the little creature high in his arms, he perches him on the top of his head. Little Peter laughs to find himself so tall, and clutches at the mossy branches of the over-hanging trees.

'The banner of the Virgin passes, borne by two youths of serious and meditative mien. They are followed by the men of Toulven and Trémeulé, all bare-headed, carrying their wide-brimmed beavers in their hands, with their long hair—the blond curls of youth and the snowy locks of age—falling over Breton vests, adorned with gold embroideries. Behind them come the women, with black embroidered bodices, white flapping head-gear, and a low buzz of Celtic syllables.

'It passes by, and the sounds grow fainter. Now it is nothing but a long thread of great winged coifs, and snowy ruffs, zig-zagging upwards, between narrow walls of moss, towards the Parish Church of St. Eloi.

'Now it has altogether disappeared, lost in the depths of distant beech-woods. In the path it has traversed one sees nothing but the tender green of the young grass, strewn with tufts of primroses; "rathe" blooms, which die before the sun can look on them, crowded together in large sulphur-coloured patches, of that peculiar milky shade one sees in amber. The Breton peasants call them *Fleurs de Lait*.

'While the family are in council, little Peter and I gather flowers in the woods of Toulven; handfuls of flowers; pale primroses, and violet peri-

winkles, and deep blue borage, and even a few pink campions, the first of the year. Little Peter is much excited. He hardly knows which flower to run to first. He works hard; every now and then sighing deeply, as though quite overwhelmed by the importance of his task. He brings his spoils to me by instalments. The flowers have very short stalks, and are crumpled up in his little hot hands.

'We stayed so long in the woods that the folks at home stationed Corentine in the path to look out for us. I could see her in the distance, dancing and jumping by herself, her great cap and white collar flapping in the breeze. She saw us, and called out loudly: "Here they come, here they come! Big Peter and Little Peter, hand in hand!" Then she turned the words into a song, and dancing to the tune of some lively Breton air, chanted:—

"See they come, they come,
Walking hand in hand,
Peter Small and Peter Big."

'She danced on, her white cap and large ruff flapping up and down, like a little marionette gone mad. And darkness, the dreary darkness of a March night closed in beneath the canopy of leafless branches, and a sudden chill shuddered through the woods after the warm sunshine of the day.'

Lack of space, combined with dislike to the task of selection, prevents us from giving any example of the sea-pictures with which *Mon Frère Yves* abounds. Not even in *Pêcheur d'Islande* do we find anything more complete in a few vigorous touches than the sketch of the Isle of Teneriffe; or more mournfully impressive than the description of a burial at sea; or more calmly beautiful than the picture of night in the Coral Seas. Nor is the chapter in *Mon Frère Yves* describing the storm off the coast of China greatly, if at all, inferior to the celebrated description of the tempest which assails the northern fishing fleet in *Pêcheur d'Islande*. A man of war is a less picturesque object than a fishing-smack; and its disciplined crew are not such romantic figures as the hardy 'Islandais'; but for boldness of treatment, for vitality and strength, for power of suggesting human helplessness and the terror of the sea, it is hard to choose between these two descriptions.

But if *Pêcheur d'Islande* hardly surpasses the earlier 'vie de matelot' in pictorial power, and in its presentment of peasant life merely reproduces and extends the charm of the earlier

Breton story, it undoubtedly possesses a unity and completeness which, of necessity, were absent from *Mon Frère Yves* and *Roman d'un Enfant*. It has a new grasp and vigour and directness, a real depth of poetry, an absence of morbid self-consciousness, which raises it above the level of all its author's previous writings. For the first time we feel that Pierre Loti's subject has carried him away.

A modern writer has spoken of *Pêcheur d'Islande* as 'the Epic of the Sea,' and the phrase is in truth a piece of concentrated criticism. For the sea in *Pêcheur d'Islande* does something more than it does in *Mon Frère Yves*. It no longer merely serves as chorus to the human drama, but is itself the chief actor in a tragedy of peasant life. Pierre Loti seems to return to the predominant thought of *Le Roman d'un Enfant*. He invests the sea with a sort of malign, sinister, siren-like personality, connecting with it the idea of an exorable Fate, against which man vainly struggles. As in an earlier book, *Le Roman d'un Spahi*, the sun wields a baneful influence over a mortal's destiny, so in this story of Breton fisher-life the ocean is represented as at issue with, and ultimately as vanquishing, a strong man's will and a woman's faithful love.

The action of the story passes partly in 'those fishing villages on the Breton coast, which are of the same colour as the rocks, and on which the wind beats the whole year through,' and partly amid 'the great silence' of the Northern seas, where the hardy race of Breton fishermen, known as 'Islandais,' ply their trade during the summer months.

The scene opens in the close, dimly-lit cabin of one of the fishing-smacks. The crew are drinking and smoking, while they dry their damp clothes at the stove. Their talk turns on the sweethearts and wives left at home, then on love and marriage in general. Only one of them, a handsome, fair-haired giant, is silent. He is a good-hearted fellow this Yann Gaos, despite the airs of superiority he gives himself on the score of the experience and scepticism acquired during his just completed five years of compulsory naval service. The men jestingly enquire when they may expect his marriage, and he replies with an expression of contempt for womankind

in general, enforced by an anecdote which somewhat scandalises his simple, wholesome minded comrades. Then we are taken on deck, where through the long hours of the Arctic night the toil never ceases. Here the subject is renewed by Yann's fellow-worker, a young cousin. Yann ought certainly to marry, and indeed this young Sylvester could go further and name the bride. They had met at a wedding-dance, Yann and this Marguerite Mével—Gaud, as she is called in Breton speech. She is the daughter of the rich man of the village, but is as unspoilt and simple-minded as any maiden in Paimpol. Yann had made no secret of his admiration, and Gaud had quickly yielded him her heart. Yet Yann had left for the summer-fishing without a word of farewell. Partly from an honourable pride—for the Gaos are poor fisher-folk, and the beautiful daughter of M. Mével is an heiress in her village—partly from a wild love of freedom, and a sort of childish contrariness, partly from a feeling he can neither fathom or explain, the handsome young fisherman refuses to woo the woman he really loves. And now, in reply to Sylvester's vehement remark, he shrugs his shoulders, and answers lightly:—'I? Yes, to be sure; one of these days I will marry, but with no countrywoman of ours. No, my bride-elect is the sea, and I promise you all an invitation for our wedding-dance.'

Sylvester is too busy to reply to Yann's strange announcement; and the silent toil goes on uninterruptedly, while the dream-like light of dawn intensifies into the clear brightness of day. But the brightness does not penetrate into Sylvester's heart, filled with a chill foreboding by Yann's scoffing words.

The whole story takes its tone from this first chapter, with its wonderful descriptions of midnight and morning on the Northern seas. The beginning of the end is here. Instinctively we divine Yann's fate.

For two years Gaud loves, and hopes, and trembles. She sees Yann at rare intervals during the winter, but he seems scarcely nearer to her than when he is away at the summer-fishing. At last an accident, half ludicrous, half tragic, breaks down the barrier which had risen between them. Gaud has

lost her father and her fortune, and is working hard for her daily bread. Yann's pride is no longer an obstacle. The lovers understand one another at last.

They are married on a cold February day, when wind and sea prevent the wedding procession from reaching the little Chapel of the Trinity, visited, according to immemorial usage, by all the newly-married couples of the district. As the bride and bridegroom stand for a moment on the narrow, wind-swept path, arrested by the sight of the surf breaking over the shelf of rock behind, 'it seemed as though Yann were presenting his wife to the sea, and as though the sea received her ill.' The wind increases, the rain drives down, and the wedding-party hastily seek the shelter of the Gaos house.

At the close of the feast prayers are said for the dead, according to Breton usage, and fisherman after fisherman is named who has perished in these far off Northern seas. Then a Gaos cousin produces some wine,—the contents, he informs the party, of a cask, which he and some of his fellow-fishermen found one morning floating on the waves. And in this 'vin-de-naufage,' with its slight briny flavour, the health of the newly-wedded pair is drunk. Under its influence the merriment grows boisterous. But the hoarse shriek of the wind, which shakes the granite house to its foundations, and the distant thunder of the surf upon the rocky coast of Plouherzel, almost drowns the human voices. The Gaos cousin remarks that the wind seems to resent their merriment. Yann shakes his head. 'It is not the wind that is vexed,' he says, 'but the sea; for I have broken my troth plight to her.'

The shadow of the parting and the future dims the brightness of Yann and Gaud's one week of wedded happiness. The evening before the *Leopoldine* is to sail the two stroll hand in hand along the cliff paths, with their wide outlook over the treeless coast and the great shimmering circle of the sea. Then Yann tells his bride how the sea looks beneath the spectral Northern sun,—a pale moon-like disc, which circles perpetually round the horizon; tells of the sombre Iceland coast, and the mountain fiords; tells of the little cemetery where the 'Islandais' who die during the summer fishing rest

in consecrated ground. Their graves marked by wooden crosses, 'just the same as with us.'

And Gaud—who cherishes a hope that this is the last summer in which her Yann will join the Northern fishing fleet—asks tremblingly whether he never wearies of the ceaseless monotonous toil of the summer.

His answer comes with a decision which causes her a pang. 'Never,' he says, 'never. Time never seems long or toil monotonous when one is at sea.' And poor Gaud bows her head sadly with a strange sense of jealousy and defeat.

Summer passes on, and autumn comes once more, bringing with it one after another of the fishing fleet. But the *Leapoldine* is never seen again. The weeks drag on, and as the agonizing strain of hope deferred subsides into the dull pain of despair, we know that Gaud is slowly dying.

For a moment the reader is allowed to lift the veil which shrouds Yann's fate, and we have a mysterious glimpse of the ghastly celebration of his nuptials with the sea.

Thus this epic of the sea closes with a funeral dirge. There is no bow in the cloud which settles down upon these Breton peasants; no star of hope shines in the heavens above them; no drop of comfort falls upon Gaud's desolate soul. And in this Pierre Loti perhaps reveals that he is not—contrary to a very frequently made assertion—a Breton born and bred.

In virtue of his intuitive sympathy with aboriginal natures, 'ces êtres plus simples que nous,' and 'plus inconscients de la mort,' Loti has given us a picture, not simply accurate in outward detail, but deeply imbued with the spirit of the existence it depicts. Moreover, 'this gray Brittany,' with its desolate wind-swept heaths and April climate, possesses for him a unique and increasing fascination. He has penetrated far into the sentiment of this country of old times, whose melancholy charm and remoteness from modern life seem to touch a kindred strain in his own nature.

But Brittany is, after all, only the country of his adoption. He approaches it, as is natural for a stranger and a sailor, from the sea. Legends of local saints, pilgrimages and pardons, rites savouring of Druidism, and instinct with poetry, did not

enter into his earliest experiences. His Huguenot ancestry, his Protestant up-bringing, betray themselves. His melancholy is unrelieved by the glow of Breton faith, his fetishism is distinct from Breton superstition. We doubt if any Breton writer, however deeply imbued with modern scepticism, would have infused a Breton tale with the resigned pessimism, the unmitigated sadness, the Oriental fatalism which breathes through every chapter of *Pêcheur d'Islande*.

Yann and Gaud, Yvonne and Sylvester, are the helpless creatures of their environment, the playthings of an irresistible and malicious fate. The human will seems, to M. Loti, to dwindle into insignificance in face of the vast stretches of sea and sky. Nature, to whom he turns in disgust with the world's conventions, supplies him with no answer to the riddle of man's life. So he gives it up. He has no philosophy to offer us. He sees and reveals the infinite poetry and pathos of human existence, he does not explain it.

Yet we can hardly doubt that *Pêcheur d'Islande* will live. The intangible force we call fashion has sway in nearly every department of life, and, in this 'turning world,' a novel must be based on what is most essential and unalterable in man's life and nature if it is to attain 'the not too long endurance we agree to call immortality.'

But *Pêcheur d'Islande* is a page torn from the great volume of human experience rather than a novel. It deals with these commonplace lives of toil which are least touched by change; and it shows us the eternal poetry which underlies them. Through realism it reveals the ideal. And, as long as men go down to the sea in ships and have their business, their monotonous daily labour on great waters; as long as the ocean wields a fascination over the children of men; as long as there are minds who delight to have this fascination extended and made sensible to them through the skill of an artist acutely susceptible to Nature's varying moods; so long will there be something which will prevent *Pêcheur d'Islande* from 'going out of fashion.'

We have alluded more than once to the Oration which, according to established custom, Pierre Loti was bound to pro-

nounce on his reception into the French Academy. We have done so because, while eulogising his predecessor,* and making a not very tactful onslaught on one of the unsuccessful candidates,† Pierre Loti was in reality laying bare the mainsprings of his own art, summing up the qualities of his own work, and defining the literary and moral canons by which his own books must be judged. And it is because *Pêcheur d'Islande* and *Mon Frère Yves* conform more closely than the rest to this self-enunciated standard that we may fairly view them as his most typical productions, and hopefully apply to them the words with which their author concluded his significant and interesting speech.

‘The mysterious twentieth century will soon look back on ours to see what there was of little or of great in it; and all our literature will pass through the sieve of years, which lets fall into the bottomless void the small things, the innumerable impersonal, common-place, hollow, pretentious, simply clever works, and retains only those of truer worth.’

May we not hope and believe that *Pêcheur d'Islande* and *Mon Frère Yves* will remain in the sieve?

ART. VIII.—THE SCOTTISH ELECTIONS OF 1895.

IN January 1886 I examined in the pages of this *Review* the position of Scottish Conservatism immediately after the General Election of 1885, and ventured to assert that, though it was then overwhelmed at the polls, there were elements of encouragement for those who believed in its future capacity to save the country. ‘The moral of the late elections,’ I then wrote, ‘is that in Scotland too, as in England, though more slowly, a moderate and enlightened Conservatism is gradually increasing its hold on the people, and preparing for its function of forming the nucleus around which will coalesce all the moderate and patriotic men who hold by constitutional progress as opposed to Jacobinical dogmas and methods.’ When

* Octave Feuillet.

† Zola.

these words appeared in print the pilot balloon of 'the Great Betrayal' was already in the air, and in six months they were justified by the triumph of the Unionist alliance over the desperate *coup*, and astonishing coalition by which Mr. Gladstone accepted for himself the rôle so scornfully disdained by Mr. Pitt, 'and marched out of the fortress of the constitution with a halter round his neck, humbly begging to be re-admitted as a volunteer in the army of the enemy.'

In 1892, though the Unionists lost seats in Scotland, they largely increased their votes. In 1885 the Conservatives polled about 156,000 votes to 289,000 recorded for the Liberals: in 1886, the figures were estimated as about 160,000 Unionist to 183,000 Gladstonian votes; and in 1892 they were about 208,000 Unionist to 254,000 Gladstonians. In April 1894 I again examined in the columns of the *Scottish Review* the position of Scottish Unionism in view of the election that seemed then impending, and in the light of past progress, of the bye-elections that had then occurred, and of the results recorded in the Registration Courts, came to the conclusion that, in spite of certain electoral conditions which made for their disadvantage, Scottish Unionists had every reason to look forward with hope to the coming contest. The omens of the year that had yet to elapse still pointed to a process of which the most significant manifestation had been Captain Hope's victory in Linlithgowshire. In the elections that followed the succession of Lord Rosebery to 'Elijah's Mantle,' though the Border Burghs showed no improvement, Berwickshire gave a considerable, and the Leith Burghs a substantial Unionist increase and attenuation of majority. Mid-Lanark followed suit. While the 'ploughing of the sands' went mechanically on, the unexpected gain of Forfarshire with an increase of nearly 1100 votes sounded a note which startled many, and shortly before the final crash came West Edinburgh raised its Unionist majority from 512 to 708, and Inverness-shire was wrested from a Land League Separatist with 550 of a majority. In three years the Unionists had won three seats, and increased their strength by over 3000 votes: the Separatists had gone back by nearly 900.

These indications, afforded by so many constituencies so different in character, of so definite a trend of opinion made speculations as to what the General Election of 1895 would bring forth in Scotland peculiarly interesting. Once more Unionists were confident that a National appeal would show an increase of Unionist voting power, and prove that their principles were more and more commending themselves to the Scottish people. Once again also they looked with combined hope and apprehension to the result in seats held, for it was impossible to predict what the fortune of war would actually decide as to the trophies of the combat. It was known that, whatever the local vetoists might do, the Scottish Radicals would 'fight like wild cats' for the retention of their old domination. For the first time they were entering the strife with the knowledge that their supremacy could be and would be effectively challenged in every district of the country. The experience of West Aberdeenshire in 1892 had taught them not to feel safe anywhere, Linlithgow had realised their worst fears, and Forfarshire had struck upon their ears like the crack of doom. It was certain that every effort would be made to retain the one and recover the others, and that corresponding exertions would be put forth in every seat likely to follow their example. The last reserves of Radicalism were to be poured into the fight, and the problem was, would they be able to turn back the advancing tide of Conservative feeling and Unionist principle.

When the struggle commenced cautious Unionists ventured to prophesy a net gain of six seats. After Edinburgh and Glasgow had polled the possibility that we might come out of the strife with a bare majority of the representation was entertained. When the late Parliament was dissolved, the Unionists held 25 seats out of 72: they have met the new one with 33, or a net balance of eight gains. A phenomenon, not unknown before, has however been conspicuously illustrated, and the ill-luck of candidates who win great triumphs at bye-elections which precipitate a victorious general election, will probably become proverbial. But the true drift of Scottish opinion can only be ascertained, and the real lessons of the election learned,

by an examination of the actual figures recorded at the polls. Dull as figures proverbially are, they are in this case significant, and I propose to compare the results of 1895 with those of 1892, first classifying the Scottish constituencies in nine divisions, framed with special regard to similarity of character and common conditions, very much as was done in 1885, and subsequently summarizing the results geographically in accordance with the district-divisions adopted in April, 1894.

I.—The Cities.

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892	1895	1892	1895
Aberdeen, South, .	1768	3121	3513	3985
„ North, .	870		(L. 991) 4516	
			4462 (L. 608)	
	2638		8976	9109
Dundee, . . .	5659	5390	8484	7602
(Double vote), . .	5066	4318	8191	7592
			(L. 354) (L. 1313)	
	10,725	9708	17,029	16,507
Edinburgh—West, .	3728		3216	U. unop.
South, .	4261	4802	4692	4708
East, .	2809	3050	3969	3499
Central, .	1758		3733	S. unop.
			(L. 438)	
	12,556	7852	16,048	8207
(East and South), .	7070	7852	8661	8207

At the bye-election in May, 1895, in West Edinburgh, the figures were—Unionist, 3783; Separatist, 3075.

Glasgow—Bridgeton, .	3351	2719	4729	3161
				(L. 609)
College, .	4758	5364	5804	4219
			(L. 225)	
Tradeston, .	3366	3373	3197	2568
			(L. 783) (L. 316)	
Camlachie, .	3455	3198	3084	2497
			(L. 1085) (L. 696)	

St. Rollox, .	4891	4566	6247	4000 *
				(L. 405)
Blackfriars,	3065	2727	4146	3108
				(L. 448)
Central, .	6121	5621	5245	3792
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	29,007	27,568	34,545	25,819
Total for the Cities, .	49,860	43,931	68,043	52,050
(excluding double votes).				

Or, if we exclude all seats in which there was not an actual contest with a Unionist candidate in 1895—

43,504 43,931 56,194 46,924

If we discard the Labour vote from the Separatist column of 1895, there is left upon the polls in seats contested with the Unionists a balance of 43,137 votes, which is less than the 43,931 polled by them. The result therefore is, that, putting North Aberdeen aside, the cause of the Union now possesses an actual majority over the party of Separation in the great cities of Scotland, and that the one barrier which remains to be breached and beaten down is the 'dour' Radicalism of the North division of the Northern city. If against North Aberdeen be put the Irish vote, Unionism has a Scottish majority in the great Scottish cities.

What Scottish Unionists have achieved is, however, best shown by a comparison of the total votes polled in each of the great cities since the Franchise was extended in 1884—

	Conservative or Unionist vote.				Liberal or Separatist vote.			
	1896	1896	1892	1895	1885	1886	1892	1895
Aberdeen, .	2349	—	2638	3121	9519	—	8966	9109
Dundee (voters),	5149	3545	5659	5390	8261	8236	8484	7602
Edinburgh,	4231	9763	12,556	7852	9184	13,625	16,048	8267
Glasgow, .	26,480	28,882	29,007	27,568	34,614	29,118	34,545	25,819
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	38,209	42,190	49,860	43,931	61,578	50,979	68,043	52,050

* The figures in these tables were taken from the daily results as recorded in the *Scotsman*. It is understood that the official figures of the St. Rollox contest were—Begg, 4561; Carmichael, 4200—the result being to slightly reduce the Unionist increase and Separatist decrease in the West. The discrepancy does not, however, affect the general conclusions.

The absence of contests in West and Central Edinburgh, and North Aberdeen in 1895, to some extent accounts for the drop in the total figures of 1895, as compared with 1892. If we add the last previous poll in these two constituencies the figures for 1895 would be Unionist 49,472, and Separatist 59,316, including a Labour vote of 438 in Central Edinburgh in 1892. There was also at work in Glasgow a local cause, which fully explains the fact, that a much larger proportion of the electorate there remained unpolled in 1895 than in 1892. The election fell in the 'Fair week'—the public holiday—when every good Glasgowwegian who can afford it, betakes himself and takes his family 'down the water' to some place of summer resort. This of course affected both political parties, but men who intimately knew the great western city were of opinion that it hit the Unionists harder than it did the Separatists, for a large proportion of the Unionist strength lies in the middle class and the best type of well-to-do artisans, and these are just the people who do go elsewhere for their holiday, and for whom it is most difficult to come back and break a short and much-prized time of rest and change of scene. On the other hand the Separatists had a considerable following among those who take their holiday in the city itself or on a cheap steamer arriving back in the city in the course of the day. It will be observed that while the West and Central Divisions of Edinburgh (the only two contested) gave 4231 Conservative votes in 1885, the South and East, the only two contested in 1895 gave no less than 7852 Unionists, while at the immediately preceding bye-election in the West Division the Unionist vote had been 3,783, and the majority 708.

II.—*The Towns.*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Greenock, . . .	2942	3571	2887	2753
Paisley, . . .	2441	3062	4262	4404
Perth, . . .	1398	1763	1171	2137
	(Lab. 907)			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	6781	8396	9227	9294

If we compare the total vote in these three single-member burghs, the only types of the class in Scotland, at the four elections since the last extension of the franchise, the result works out thus:—

Conservative or Unionist.				Liberal or Separatist.			
1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
6576	6516	6781	8396	9131	6838	9227	9294

Thus the Unionist vote in ten years has increased by nearly 2000: the Separatist has remained substantially the same. The gain of the seat at Perth in 1892 was of course a fortuitous and fortunate accident due to two Radicals going to the poll, and the figures of 1895 reflect no discredit but the reverse on those who have laboured to plant Conservative principles so firmly within the walls of the 'Fair City.'

III.—*District Burghs.*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Ayr, . .	2753	3057	2760	2722
Dumfries, .	1166	1185	1698	1785
Elgin, . .	1127	1161	1668	1853
Falkirk, .	3177	4075	3816	3822
Hawick, .	2639	2531	3004	3033
Inverness, .	1562	1846	1615	1596
Kilmarnock,	4335	5432	5110	5051
Kirkcaldy,	939	1122	2741	3078
Leith, . .	4095	4494	5738	5819
Montrose,	2090	2462	3941	3594
St. Andrews,	1066	1185	954	989
Stirling, .	1695	1656	2791	2783
Wick, . .	952	913	825	889
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	27,596	31,119	36,661	37,014

Thus in this class of constituency the Unionist strength has increased by 3523, while the Separatists have only mustered a reinforcement of 353. The election of 1885 affords no data for comparison, for the Elgin, Hawick, Inverness, St. Andrews, Stirling, and Wick groups were then uncontested by the Conservatives, the contests in the St. Andrews, Inverness, and Wick

groups being between two Liberals, while in the other three the members were unopposed. In 1886, when all the groups except the Elgin District were contested, the Unionist vote was 23,899, and the Separatist 27,596. Of these 13 constituencies the Unionists now actually hold six, a result quite unlooked for some years back.

IV.—*The Counties (Highland).*

	1892. Unionist Vote.	1895. Unionist Vote.	1892. Separatist Vote.	1895. Separatist Vote.
Argyllshire, . .	3586	3970	3666	3935
Inverness, . .	2706	2991	3035	2891
Ross and Cromarty, . .	2413	2409	3171	3272
Sutherland, . .	607	590	1453	1085
Caithness, . .	693	528	2133	1828
Orkney and Shetland, . .	1674	1580	2623	2361
	<hr/> 11,679	<hr/> 12,068	<hr/> 16,081	<hr/> 15,272

These Highland constituencies stand by themselves, and their peculiar circumstances and past record must be taken into view before drawing any inference from present figures. In 1885 only Inverness-shire and Orkney and Shetland were contested by Conservatives, and Argyllshire by an Independent Liberal of Conservative tendencies. The total votes polled in these three constituencies were 6823, as against 12,814. In 1886, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, having ranged himself as a Liberal-Unionist of Land League predilections, the total Unionist vote in the five other seats which were all contested was 7404, as against a Separatist strength of 13,157. We now stand with Argyllshire won in 1886, and lost in 1892, recovered, and Inverness-shire lost in 1892, won by a handsome majority at a bye-election, and retained by a substantial one, in spite of the difficulties that attend the retention of a seat won by special efforts, at an immediately succeeding General Election. In spite of a serious falling off in the number of votes recorded in Sutherland and Caithness, the Unionist strength in the Highlands is growing, while in spite of the spur given by the recent loss of Inverness-shire that of the Separatists shows a decline.

V.—The Counties (North-East.)

	Separatist Vote.		Unionist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Moray and Nairn,	1978	2147	2523	2019
Banffshire,	(1424)	2467	2293	2977
Aberdeenshire East,	3492	3308	5116	4723
Do. West,	3640	3967	3720	4187
Kincardineshire,	(1376)	2040	2444	2603
Forfarshire,	4077	4718	4943	5159
	15,987	18,647	21,039	21,668

These constituencies are generally Lowland in character, though, with the exception of East Aberdeenshire, they contain Highland districts, the population of which is comparatively small. With the exception of West Aberdeenshire all possess a fringe of a fishing population quite distinct in character from the inhabitants of the landward districts, which is most numerous in Banffshire and East Aberdeenshire. Otherwise they embrace the most purely agricultural region in Scotland. The most satisfactory feature is the return of Moray and Nairn to its old allegiance of more than ten years ago; and the most unsatisfactory the slight drop in the Unionist vote in East Aberdeenshire as compared with 1892, even though it is coincident with a larger drop on the Separatist side. East Aberdeenshire affords the only case in these counties in which the Unionist vote has decreased since 1892, and the only case of a smaller poll. Roughly speaking, the bye-election of December 1892 and the late contest tell the same tale, and point to the maintenance of *status quo*, and less political interest on both sides. This was natural at a bye-election which came so soon after the general election of 1892, but, being unique now, is a curious phenomenon. It would seem that it illustrates the fact, that after all, in spite of prejudice, a good local public-spirited Conservative landowner makes a more effective candidate for a county-seat, even in the most Radical region, than a Liberal-Unionist from a distance whose views on many points are indistinguishable from his opponent's, and who sometimes out-Herod's Herod. The

success of Sir Arthur Grant in 1892 in reducing to 80 a majority counted at 3,768 in 1885 and 2,197 in 1886, gave good hope, though not confident expectation, that West Aberdeenshire would be won for the Union. He did well in increasing his vote by over 300, but the warning of 1892 had been laid to heart by the Separatists who had revived their organisation, formerly very slack, and left no stone unturned to whip up their last man. Yet though the seat was not won, the figures of West Aberdeenshire yield no ground of discouragement, and much incentive to further effort. Banffshire registered another step in the normal increase of Unionist feeling and reduction of Radical preponderance, which began at the bye-election of 1893, and Kincardineshire showed a most satisfactory initiation of the same process. Forfarshire strangely reversed its emphatic decision of a few months before, and converted Mr. Ramsay's majority of 286 into a minority of 441, but his vote remained a substantial advance upon his predecessor's in 1892, and the fact that the seat has once been won is full of future encouragement. Unsatisfactory as the results are in seats held, there is much reason for satisfaction in the solid fact that while since 1892 the Separatist vote has only increased by 629, that of the Unionists has risen by 2,660. There is strong reason for the belief that of the agricultural population proper a majority is now Unionist, and that if the balance were in their hands, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire at all events would have recorded different results.

VI.—*The Counties (Central and East).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Perthshire, East, .	2484	2535	3533	3410
„ West, .	3422	3379	3053	3087
Stirlingshire, .	4550	5916	5296	5489
			(L. 663)	
Clackmannan and Kinross, 1927		2588	3541	3133
Fife, West, .	1633	2965	5210	4719
„ East, .	3449	3616	3743	4332
	17,465	20,999	25,039	24,170

In this central region, containing a mixed population of agriculturists, villagers, miners, and millworkers, the results have been fairly satisfactory. The largest county of all, with the biggest working-class vote has been handsomely won, and the Unionist seat in West Perthshire retained. The ex-Lord-Advocate's majority in Clackmannan and Kinross has been reduced from 1614 to 545, and Mr. Birrell's in West Fife from 3577 to 1754. Mr. Gilmour has increased his vote in East Fife, but that increase has proved insufficient in face of the strenuous efforts put forth on behalf of an able candidate who since 1892, had received high Government office, and been more successful than most of his colleagues in increasing his personal reputation, while that of his party was running to ruin. An increase of 3534 in the Unionist vote coincident with a decrease of 869 in the Separatist affords a capital basis for future work.

VII.—*The Counties (the Lothians and South-East).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
West Lothian, .	2709	3153	2870	3760
Mid „ .	5155	5631	5845	6090
East „ .	2255	2194	2551	2774
Peebles and Selkirk.	1603	1563	1367	1509
Roxburgh, . .	2514	2929	2672	2368
Berwick, . .	1956	2166	2704	2673
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	16,192	17,636	18,009	19,174

In these South-Eastern counties it must be confessed that the result in seats has been a little disappointing. The representation ought at least to have been divided, and would have been so had the seat in East Lothian won at the bye-election been successfully defended. While it fell before an assiduous and impetuous attack, one of the most healthy and well-timed triumphs of the struggle was won by the Earl of Dalkeith in Roxburghshire, and the vote of 1895 in East Lothian still shows an increase of nearly 450 over that of 1892. The remarkable stride in Unionist progress indicated by the Mid-Lothian figures of 1892, had perhaps caused unduly

sanguine expectations to be entertained as to the premier county of Scotland, but there is no ground of discouragement in the figures which it has recorded. The maintenance of the substantial figures achieved by a candidate of exceptional personal fascination, by another who had not been so long in the field would have been something in itself, but the increase of these figures by nearly 500 is much more, while more significant still is the fact that in spite of the warning they had received, and the exertion of every effort on the part of the Separatists, they were only able to bring out about 150 more than had gone to the poll in 1892. In the South-East the slow but steady growth of Unionist principles is seen to continue, for while on the one side the increase is 3,444, on the other it is only 165. The total Separatist majority in these counties is only 1,538; ten years ago it was 13,069.

VIII.—*The Counties (the West).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Lanarkshire (Govan) .	3829	4029	4829	4290
				(L. 430)
„ (Partick) .	5005	5551	4278	4344
„ North-West, 4770		5147	4689	5244
„ North-East, 5184		5751	5281	6288
„ Mid, . 3489		4376	4611	4447
„ South, . 4032		4053	3664	3823
Dumbartonshire, .	4956	5375	5249	5342
Renfrew, East, .	4484	U. unop.	3397	...
„ West, .	3773	3909	3322	3306
Bute, . . .	1466	U. unop.	1013	...
Ayrshire, North, .	5346	5612	4898	4902
„ South, .	6338	6875	6535	6325
	52,672	50,678	51,766	48,741

If we add to these figures the polls at the preceding elections in Bute and East Renfrew the result is:—

52,672	56,628	51,766	53,151
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The fact that two popular constituencies, one of them a large one, were left uncontested, is itself significant. While

two seats have been lost, two have been gained, and in every case the Unionist vote shews an increase, while in four the Separatist vote has decreased. Most interesting and instructive of all is the large increase of over 700 votes in Mid-Lanark, an essentially working-class constituency of miners and steelworkers, where in an even battle between Unionist and Separatist, Mr. Mackenzie's clear presentment of Unionist principles and of a policy of honesty in social reform was rewarded by the reduction of a majority of over 1100 in 1892 to the exiguous figure of 71. The result in these counties, shews the fortune of war when parties are more or less evenly balanced as to the tenure of seats, but it also exhibits a general and substantial growth of Unionist voting power. The query which it irresistibly suggests is, 'Where would the Radicals be without the Irish Home Rule vote?'

IX.—*The Counties (South-West).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Dumfries, .	4123	3952	3849	3965
Kirkcudbright, .	2485	2664	2454	2494
Wigtown, .	2895	U. unop.	1670	...
	9503	6616	7973	6459

If we add to the registered figures of 1895, the vote at the last preceding election as representing the unchallenged verdict of Wigtonshire, the Unionist poll in 1895 would be 9,511, and the Separatist 8,129. The most unfortunate incident of the election of 1895 was the loss of the seat in Dumfriesshire. It was due simply and solely to the apathy of a few Unionist electors who did not take the trouble to come and vote, choosing to assume that the seat was quite safe. Indeed it is said that in an Edinburgh club within a short time of the result being known, the names of 'a baker's dozen' sufficient to have saved the seat were ticked off, who should have been there to vote and were not. It might have been thought that the result of West Aberdeenshire in 1892, would have been sufficient for lazy Unionists. It proved that no contest was so

hopeless as to absolve a loyal man from doing his duty, and at the same time it carried with it a warning to the over-confident. Strange that the moral should have to be rewritten, and the complement of West Aberdeenshire in 1892 afforded by Dumfriesshire in 1895. It is a melancholy thing that the pure laziness, the preference of a day or two's fishing, or the starting a day earlier for a yachting cruise, on the part of two or three armchair politicians can nullify the effects of laborious attention to duty by a public-spirited representative, and destroy the results of hard work done, and time ungrudgingly sacrificed by patriotic men, not only in the constituency given away, but in others affected by its fall. The gentlemen who did not take the trouble of coming to vote in Dumfriesshire have the satisfaction of knowing that they administered to the Unionist cause the one sharp check it received during the election, and destroyed a great opportunity of influencing for good at the most critical moment the political faith of Scotland. On the morning of 19th July it was quite on the cards that the Unionists would come out of the contest with 37 seats in the bag. The Scottish burghs had done well: the counties were just beginning to poll. 37 seats would have been a clear majority of the Scottish representation, and all the pernicious nonsense that is talked about Scotland being overridden by England would have been knocked on the head once for all. The loss of Dumfriesshire to the Union accentuated the success of the Separatists in retaining their seats in Mid-Lothian and East Fife, and it made an eddy not only in the flowing tide of the General Election, but in the slower and more steady swelling of Unionist strength in Scotland. It remains an emphatic warning that in politics clap-trap is not to be despised, and that confidence as to a result is only justified when every elector has gone to the poll.

In the arrangement already given the constituencies have been allocated, according to similarity of character and community of interest: it is also instructive to consider the general results tested according to geographical areas alone, and without going into undue detail, to make a comparison between the figures of the ten years that have elapsed since

the Franchise was last extended. For this purpose it is impossible to do better than take the Divisions into which Scotland is divided for supervision by local committees under the general superintendence of the Central Council of the National Conservative Union. For each of these districts the total votes polled at the General Elections of 1885, 1886, 1892, and 1895, stand as follows :—

I.—Eastern District.

Containing Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Peebles and Selkirk, the Lothians, West Fife, Clackmannan and Kinross, Edinburgh city, the Border, the Leith, and Kirkcaldy, and the Stirling Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	20,199	28,154	41,670	40,844
Separatist,	45,896	39,520	56,643	49,946

In 1895 the West Division of Edinburgh where the last Unionist majority was 708, and the Central where the last Separatist majority was 1,975, exclusive of a Labour vote of 438, were uncontested, and in 1885 only the West and Central were fought by Conservatives. The figures of the ensuing bye-election in the South Division have been taken.

II.—Western District.

Comprising Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Bute, Argyll, Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire; Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley, and the Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Falkirk Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	91,981	92,021	105,427	107,329
Separatist,	110,913	89,616	112,194	99,732

In 1895 South and East Renfrew where the previous Unionist majorities were respectively 453 and 1087 were uncontested. The Labour vote has not been included in this table, but its addition, to which they are not entitled, would only raise the Separatist strength to 102,636.

III.—Tay District.

Containing East Fife, Perthshire, Forfarshire, Dundee, Perth, the Montrose and the St. Andrews Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	17,350	19,677	23,645	25,048
Separatist,	35,889	26,010	29,822	30,310

The double vote in Dundee has been excluded.

IV.—North-Eastern District.

Containing Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Aberdeen, and the Elgin Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	10,791	...	12,258	16,064
Separatist,	28,736	...	20,772	24,844

In 1886 Aberdeen City and the Elgin Burghs were uncontested.

V.—Northern District.

Including Moray and Nairn, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, the Inverness and the Wick Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	...	6,541	10,913	11,424
Separatist,	12,006	14,766	13,580

In 1885, there was only a limited number of contests between Conservatives and Liberals, and the situation was complicated by the appearance of the Land League candidates who were generally successful against the ordinary Liberal.

VI.—South-Western District.

Comprehending Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Wigtonshire, and the Dumfries Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	10,159	10,715	10,669	7801
Separatist,	11,520	8,924	9,071	8244

Wigtonshire, where the Unionist majority at the previous contest was 1225, was uncontested in 1895.

Orkney and Shetland is a constituency which stands by itself, but with its figures added the total votes cast in Scotland at the Election of 1895, excluding the second votes in Dundee, would appear to be—

Unionist.	Separatist.	Labour.
210,090	229,017	4825

But Wigtonshire, East Renfrew, and Bute, were uncontested by the Separatists. Their previous figures would raise the Unionist vote to 218,935, and the Separatist to 235,097. The general result therefore is that the Unionists have done fairly well in the gain of seats, and that while in some constituencies there has been a little falling back, there has been a general increase in their voting power in every district of the country. This is the more remarkable, because in reviewing the course of the Scottish elections, and comparing them with previous contests, we see no manifestation of any great wave of opinion, such as has been experienced south of the Border. Radical seats have not fallen like the walls of Jericho or the battlements of Derby, and there is little trace of the later Scottish elections being influenced by the contagion of the triumph in the South. The rush of a great wave is not the metaphor which can be used to describe Unionist increase in Scotland; it is rather to be compared to the sure and steady advance of the tide. There is nothing phenomenal in the results disclosed, but there is much that is satisfactory, because they shew the continuance of a process of conviction, which is all the more certain because it is not too rapid. Scotsmen may in many cases be Radical in opinion, but they are all Conservative in nature. Only those who know them best can realize what a strength of sentiment, of prejudice, and even of self-conceit had to be surmounted before the real convictions of many cut themselves free from bonds forged by the glamour of a great figure, and an inherited horror of a traduced party name. That the emancipation from the traditions of a dead past, which were partly founded on facts which have ceased to exist and were largely the products of imagination, has been carried so far, is a certain guarantee of a still happier future.

The measure of success that has been attained has been gained in spite of the utmost efforts of the forces arrayed on the opposite side. It has been gained in the face of cunningly devised, though despicable, appeals to the Scot's *amour propre*, and his jealousy of 'the auld enemies of England,' which waxed shriller as the Unionist success in the South became more and more assured. It has been gained in spite of unscrupulous bribes addressed to the more sordid instincts of the county voters, and of the usual calumnies against classes and candidates, on which the setters of class against class rely. It would undoubtedly have been more complete had not a dead set been made at members of the Established Church, with former sympathies for the Radical party, with the insidious suggestion that now that England was giving a Unionist majority, the Church could be in no danger for some time to come, and they might safely vote for a declared Disestablisher. This strange argument has been used concurrently with the conversion of Church Courts of the Free Church into Separatist caucuses for the purpose of forwarding together the interests of Disestablishment and of the party which has suffered a crushing defeat.

The success has indeed been more substantial than is apparent. The Separatists have polled their last man, and have pressed every piece of their ordnance into the battle. The day before the late Government fell they succeeded in capturing for electioneering purposes the ecclesiastical machinery of the Free Church of Scotland, for on 20th June there was issued, with a more or less wily selection of recipients, a circular on behalf of the Church and State Committee of the Free Church, signed by Dr. Rainy, which urged the ministers of that Church in the strongest terms to take action in their Church Courts, to attend political meetings, to canvass their office-bearers and members, and to use other efforts to force on Disestablishment. Yet, in spite of this degradation of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of Dr. Chalmers, which still carries the principle of Church Establishment on its authorized standards, and of all the other forces, more or less creditably invoked, of the Separatists, the main result of the

election has been, for the first time, effectually to destroy their pretension to speak the mind of the Scottish people, and to place the Unionists in the position of being the true national party of Scotland. This would have been obvious to everybody had 36 or 37 seats been carried. The Unionists hold 33, and the Separatists 39. But of these 39, two divisions of Glasgow, and four divisions of Lanark, can at once be set down as held simply and solely by favour of the Irish vote. The same is probably true of the three Lothians and the East Division of Edinburgh, and a careful investigation would possibly show other seats in the same position. The transfer of the constituencies within the bounds of Lanark alone would just reverse the Parliamentary position, and if every seat held by a majority less than the Irish Catholic vote were handed over, and if that vote were substracted from the Separatist polls, the Scottish Separatists would be seen shaven in the House of Commons and shorn in the country. If, as appears to be the case, the burden of their song for the next *lustrum* is to be the woes of an oppressed Scotland tyrannized over by England, they and the public of the United Kingdom must be told plainly that we can recognize no 'Complaynt of Scotland' presented in the mellifluous tones of the Irish brogue.

The change which has been effected within ten years to so great an extent in the political complexion of Scotland is due partly to conviction on the question of Home Rule, and partly to affection for the National Church, forced into action by the Disestablishment crusade, but very largely also to better political organisation, and to increased knowledge of Conservative principles among the electors. It has been substantially contributed to by six years' experience of practical Unionist-legislation, by three years' disappointment with the barrenness of Radical promises, and by general disgust with an impotent and irritating management of Scottish affairs. The old notion expressed by the English elector that 'the Liberals are the party what gives,'—always at the expense of other people—is being gradually superseded by a conviction that the Radicals promise much and perform little, while the

Unionists promise less and perform more. If the process so satisfactorily begun in Scotland is to be continued the Unionists must not lose their opportunity of showing that this new diagnosis is correct as far as they are concerned. Scotsmen are now impatient at the neglect of their interests in comparison with those of Ireland, and they look with some expectations to a Government whose Scottish Secretary is a well-known Scotsman with a practical knowledge of the conditions of Scottish life.

An examination of the electoral results conducted with a knowledge of the social features of different parts of Scotland indicates that in the North-East the Unionists have yet to convince the fishermen, and to carry further the impression already made on the small farmers and ploughmen. In Fife and the Lothians the miners have still to be reached. While the nation has negatived a revolutionary policy, the opportunity is favourable for a reasonable settlement, in a spirit at once conservative and in the best sense liberal, of some troublesome questions, and for judicious measures directed to improve the condition of certain classes of the community without infringing the rights of others. The characteristic of Gladstonian proposals has been their infliction of the maximum of mischief on the classes supposed to be anti-Gladstonian, with the minimum of advantage in settling controversies and grappling with real social problems: it remains for the Unionists, while discarding the doctrine that the essence of benefit to one class consists in the spoliation or mulcting of another, to prove that much can be done to raise the *status* of all, and especially of the larger and the poorer. The practical inconveniences that have given some bottom to the cry of Home Rule all round ought to be removed by the institution of a tribunal to make the enquiries necessary in Private Bill legislation. The Church has hitherto been successfully, though not altogether triumphantly, defended. It may be of vital importance to the future of National Religion in Scotland, that by some simple legislative declaration, such as has been already submitted to Parliament, and substantially assented to by herself, the constitutional obstacles which at present divide her

from those holding the same principles in regard to the righteousness and advantages of a National Establishment should be removed. This has recently become all the more necessary and desirable in view of the action taken towards union amongst themselves by her irreconcilable enemies, of the new ecclesiastical conditions of the Highlands, and of the sense of discomfort and disgust felt by many Free Churchmen at the official exhortation addressed to them to surrender their national claim and convert themselves into pure and simple political dissenters. Most important of all perhaps is a sound and cautious but courageous handling of questions connected with the ownership and occupancy of land. Scottish agriculture has its own case for a revision of local taxation. While sound principle forbids the transfer of one man's property to another operated by an extension of the Crofter's Act to Lowland districts and other Gladstonian nostrums, the same principle entitles an outgoing tenant to complete money compensation for improvements effected by him, and it may well be considered whether it would not be advisable that such compensation should always be assessed and paid at the termination of a lease irrespective of whether the tenant is going to take the farm again or not. This is perhaps hardly a matter for legislation, but it would get rid of the idea of a man's rent being raised on his own improvements, for these would have been paid for by the landlord in hard cash. The expense of assessing compensation might also be reduced. To meet the case of the better-class crofter and of the small tenant of the north who has no complaint against his hereditary landlord but fears the sale of the estate and the heavier hand of a new purchaser, the honest and most effective remedy is to be found in an application to Scotland of the legislation outlined in the Ashbourne Acts. I ventured to suggest this in the *National Review* in 1889, and the proposal has recently found a place in the programme of many Unionist candidates. The Unionist Government in 1892 passed measures for encouraging small holdings and allotments, but the limited extent to which these have been taken advantage of seems to invite further consideration whether

assistance in borrowing money on favourable terms might not be given by Government to landowners desirous of equipping small holdings, and of improving and extending the house accommodation for labourers on their estates, but hampered by the want of ready money and the additional heavy burdens recently imposed on them. It is also desirable that the conditions in, and under, which land may be compulsorily acquired for pressing public purposes such as the extension of a rising town, which finds itself 'cribbed, cabined, and confined,' should be carefully laid down with due regard to the public interest and the private right, and it is worthy of consideration whether the solution of this question may not be facilitated by the institution of the proposed Private Bill Commission, to one member of which in the ordinary case, and to the whole tribunal in special cases, the final appeal might be made. These are but illustrations of questions connected with land rights, which can be dealt with in a statesmanlike spirit, without infringing, as nearly every Gladstonian proposal did, the principle of private property, and may be settled without injury to the owner, and with benefit to those in whose special interests the machinery is demanded. It is in such a spirit that they must be approached if solution of difficulty is truly the object aimed at, and the Unionists are much better fitted and more likely to find a reasonable settlement than their opponents. The real social difficulties of the Highlands, which were simply mocked by Sir George Trevelyan's Crofters Bill with all its provocations to controversy outside the Highland line, demand special consideration, and Scotland no less than England will benefit by a bold handling of the questions connected with accidents in industrial employment, and will rejoice no less if the party to whose legislation the developments of thrift and industry secured by the Friendly Societies' and similar Acts are due, and which has lightened the burdens of the ploughman and the artisan in the upbringing of his family when their education pressed hard upon him, can do something to secure a comfortable and respectable old age for the honest and industrious worker.

A SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 4, 1895).—Professor Ley of Kreuznach furnishes here an elaborate and painstaking study on the metre of the book of Job, 'Die metrische Beschaffenheit des Buches Hiob.' Separating the prose parts and superscriptions, or the headings of certain sections, there remains 995 verses in the book. There are 65 three line verses, 22 of which are parallelisms, while 30 or 31 occur at the conclusions of divisions. But Professor Ley enters into a minute analysis of the whole poem in connection with the accents and tones for canticulation and interpretation. It perhaps should be mentioned that the editors preface the study by a note, indicating that they are not quite satisfied with all the writer's positions, but commending his paper to the attention of the readers of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.—Dr. Paul Kleinert, of Berlin, follows with an almost exhaustive paper on the 'Idee des Lebens im Alten Testament.' A very short sketch of the position taken up as to the import of the question of 'Life' in modern religious and philosophic movements, and in ancient Buddhism, leads up to a detailed exposition of the high value attached to life in the Religion of Israel as witnessed to in the Old Testament Scriptures.—Professor A. H. Francke's posthumous paper on 'Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus zu seinem Volke,' is continued in this number. In this section Paul's larger views as to the position and privileges of Israel in comparison with those entertained by the Jewish people as a whole, are demonstrated from his Epistles, and specially from that to the Romans. Paul was, and remained, proud of his Jewish birth, and was not in the least degree inclined to disparage Israel's unique relation to God, or deny the exceptional and manifold favours shewn to it in the past. But he saw its exceptional position and privileges in the light chiefly of a large and heavy responsibility laid on Israel for behoof of all races, and he fearlessly charged his people with having overlooked and neglected that responsibility, and the duties involved in it. His insistence on that neglect aroused no little animosity against him on the part of his brethren according to the flesh, and his larger views on that subject led to the persistent persecution of him which so embittered his life. But though he felt impelled by the opposition of his brethren to himself and

to his teaching to devote his ministry chiefly to the Gentiles, he none the less loved his own people and longed and prayed for their ultimate inclusion in the Christian brotherhood and their participation in all the benefits accruing to believers in Christ Jesus.—In a short article 'Zur Vergleichung der Lehre des Paulus mit der Jesu,' Dr. Paul Gloag reviews Professor Hans H. Wendt's, 'Die Lehre des Paulus verglichen mit der Lehre Jesu,' which appeared at the beginning of last year in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Herr Pfarrer Herlinger reviews the second volume of Rocholl's 'Die Philosophie der Geschichte.'

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological) opens its twenty-seventh number with a paper by the Editor, Professor Grot, on 'Pure or Disinterested Morality,' being the substance of a speech delivered in the public yearly meeting of the Moscow Psychological Society in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The author begins by stating that this morality is found *within* the man in his own proper psychical nature and not anywhere outside of that nature, and that it constitutes one of the foremost acquisitions of the Philosophy of the two preceding ages. Searching for this pure moral action in aid of Religion, Science, or Philosophy, it will be found rooted in man's inner nature. The external conditions of faith, hope, and love, may be sought for outwardly, but the real foundation is only to be found within. All religion, philosophy, and positive science, presuppose the existence of pure moral conduct, love to God and one's neighbour, faith in justice and perfection, hope of eternal blessedness, and the avoidance of eternal pain, sympathy and pity, tendency to happiness, and the idea of moral duty; finally, the feeling of self-preservation and inborn instinct, the idea of advantage and general blessedness—all these facts of the spiritual life of the subject are conditions and properties of the internal Ego. The object of his discourse, Professor Grot tells us, will be to make an attempt to examine anew the question, on which side of human nature it is necessary to seek the secret of a truly pure moral life. He promises that the inquiry will be purely theoretical, such as a philosophical inquiry ought to be, a question of self-knowledge and self-comparison; and he proposes to deal with the problem anew on the ground of psychology, and to discuss the question, what are the basis of moral conduct, in comparing and solving the doubts which arise in examining the contemporary utilita-

rian and eudaimonean morals, the moral of personal advantage and fortune.—This paper is succeeded by another 'On Life as a Moral Conflict,' by M. P. A. Kalenoff. The author begins by remarking that the external conflict of man as a thinking being with the external world is rooted in an inner conflict of opposing tendencies. For the explanation of the facts of this conflict, they may be considered under the following three categories:—1. Enjoyment of the immediate satisfaction of certain wants; 2. Satisfaction, the contentment consequent on the attaining of more remote and enduring pleasures. These two categories of good or satisfaction differ from one another, not in essence only but in quantity, and the latter arises out of the former as its fundamental element. Satisfaction of the third kind, in distinction from the other two, is subjectively limited, but consciously felt to be unconditioned. This last believed to be unconditioned blessing is moral duty. There are therefore categories of good or blessing acting as motive powers to man's will, enjoyment, satisfaction and moral duty. Corresponding to these three categories the inner conflict presents two degrees. The first degree is that hesitation between mere animal enjoyment and the more lasting satisfactions demanding attention rather than immediate enjoyment. Besides the choice between immediate enjoyment and more lasting satisfaction, there appears also in life the necessity of choice between personal good and unconditional good—good which comes from the demands of moral duty! Issuing from this struggle, the mind presents a second or higher degree of inner conflict. The chief aim of this article the author explains is included in clearing up the idea of the Kosmos, as a motive of moral conflict, but having explained this idea as motive and problem of scientific activity, he proceeds to say: 'I shall speak shortly also concerning the means of solving the scientific problem; for this throws some light on the chiefly interesting part of my question;' and then goes on to discuss the topic.—To this succeed two papers of an obituary nature, both having for their subject the scientific activity of A. M. Ivantzoff-Platonoff, the Professor of Church History in the University of Moscow. The first paper is an estimate of his scientific activity, by Prince Serge N. Trubetskoi. From this we learn that Ivantzoff was a contributor to the labours of Aksakoff, on the journals *Day* and *Rusi*, to which he contributed quite a remarkable series of articles. He edited also a number of the writings of Chomakoff, which appeared in a religious journal, and concerning which he took clear and independently critical views. He opposed Chomakoff's views about the religious position of the Western

nations. Chomakoff held that the Church was only to be found in Pan Slavist circles. He allowed that they were in a certain sense Christian, although the true Church was not to be found either in Catholicism or Protestantism. But he went further and denied Orthodoxy even to the Oriental Churches, and denied also the validity of the Sacraments as instruments of the grace of God, a view which M. Ivanoff-Platonoff rejected decidedly as too cruel and severe to be true, and, what is more, contrary to the views of the Orthodox Church, in her practical dealing in every case with the churches in question. The article goes very fully into the scientific activity of this gentleman both as priest and professor, showing him as one of the most cultivated and devout members of the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church; he was especially distinguished for his liberal views, as to the place and power of science as an instrument of instruction.—Passing on to the second paper on this popular and learned member of the Orthodox Church, we find that it treats of his relation to Historical Science. The name attached to his paper is that of M. Korelin. He sets out by calling attention to the liberality of M. Ivantzoff-Platonoff in regard to science. He holds, indeed, that as a scientific thinker he was especially distinguished by two traits—first, by his deep and broad religiousness, and secondly, by his high regard to science and high estimate of the value of scientific truth. The first trait was indicated by his deep and abiding sense not only of the value of the subjective feeling of love of truth, or love of the truth as an abiding feeling, but the satisfaction of the objective feeling of his relation to God, which he once expressed in the saying, ‘The highest moral is the business of conscience, the service of the living God.’ M. Korelin’s last word over this Professor of Church History and Priest of the Greco-Russian Church deserves to be recorded: ‘I do not wish to say,’ he concludes, ‘that Ivantzoff-Platonoff had not to struggle against the routine and the self-sufficient readiness of our native science. On the contrary, the whole of his journalistic activity exhibits him as an honourable and daring combatant against routine and prejudice, and those wishing to convince themselves sufficiently may read through his “Explanations on the question as to Orthodoxy in the present time,” in the *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* of 1861, or his article on “A View of the Past, and Hope for the Future,” in the same journal for 1870. Some little superfluity of Conservatism does manifest itself in his criticisms. Finally, on comparison not with the majority of Russian Church historians, but with the representatives of West European science, and that in all their works, it must be admitted that he stands on an equality before the

demands of contemporary science.' Thus the Berlin Professor, Harnack, one of the greatest lights of the science of Church History in the West, in a very full review of the work of Ivantzoff-Platonoff on *Heresies*, regarded the book as a very substantial contribution to science, and admitted its author to have a sure glance, deep love of truth, and unwonted knowledge.—The last article in the general division of the journal is a rejoinder to Professor Vvedensky's articles on 'Kant, Actually and in Imagination,' by M. Karinsky, being the resumption of a former controversy, which is nevertheless not brought to a conclusion. It resolves itself very much into a question on the part of these two writers as to which of them has best understood Kant and his philosophy, and being so, does not readily admit of being put into a summary.—Coming to the special articles of the number, we have a paper by M. N. Marin on 'The Influence of Feeling on the course of Time,' or it might be called the effect of subjective feeling, etc., on our apprehension of time; the results the author sums up into six brief statements.—This is succeeded by M. V. P. Butzke in an 'Analysis of the Fundamental Conditions in regard to the Association of Ideas.'—This is followed by an obituary notice of M. Ivan G. Shad by M. F. A. Zelenogorskie. Shad was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Charkoff from 1805 to 1817, and was also the author of several logical and metaphysical works. In keeping with this tendency to enthusiasm which seems to distinguish the Slavic mind, these years were marked in the history of the University by a great predilection for the philosophy of Schelling, which infected not only the philosophical but also the medical faculty. Besides his love of the philosophy of Schelling, he was also known for his criticism of Kant, whose philosophy he very naturally viewed as a propaedeutic to Schelling! The article is to be continued.—This is succeeded by an article, shorter than usual, on the Ukraine philosopher, M. G. C. Skovoroda, considered as a theologian.—This is followed by a critique of Gustav Teichmüller's 'Theory of Art.'—The Twenty-Eighth number of the *Voprosi*, or Questions, etc., takes up (1) a critique of the 'Genesis and Development of Music' by M. V. Wagner. He sets out by an analysis of Spencer, Darwin, and Weismann, as to the origin of the musical faculty, which he gives in outline—Spencer's as derived from the faculty of speech, Darwin's as rooted in the sexual relations, while Weismann's takes a more general and metaphysical view. The author takes up as connected with music and its development the hearing apparatus, which he treats from the physiological point of view. This is followed by the treatment of the

origin and development of the vocal apparatus. In the third part this is succeeded by an account of the origin and development of the musical art. The author, under this head, after comparing the views of Darwin, Spencer, and Weismann, comes to the conclusion that Spencer's theory is nearer the truth than those of the other two. In the conclusion our author strives to deal with certain questions as to the origin of music.—The succeeding article is by Prof. Kozloff, and gives an analysis of Count Leo Tolstoi's new treatise on the *Farmer and the Labourer*, in which he points out that Count Tolstoi has forsaken the place of the artist for that of the preacher, wherein his power is less visible. The article goes into details to prove that the new departure of Count Tolstoi is less successful than those which are of purely artistic and less mixed character.—Hereupon succeeds by the Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, an article on 'Benefactors,' in which he again takes up those questions as to the philosophy of morals, which we have previously had occasion to notice. Here also he reviews those original forms of thought and feeling which he holds to be the primitive elements of morality. In particular he takes up *shame*, *sympathy*, and *religious feeling*, and observes that they may be contemplated from three sides—as benefactors, as rules of action, and thirdly as conditions of known good.—Various interesting studies appear in the special part of the journal, as 'The Contemporaneous Condition of Experimental Psychology, its Methods and Problems,' a study which seems to be flourishing, seeing that new laboratories have been opened to the number of 39, even in the smaller lands of the world, as Bulgaria and Roumania and remote Japan, six periodical journals, and all experimental or of a practical character.—Hereupon we have 'Psychology in History,' by M. P. Ardshoff; and finally, reviews of books and bibliography close, as usual, the number.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL.—*Russian Opinion*—(June).—In the present number the lengthy romance entitled 'Bread,' by D. N. Mamim Sibiryak, and the romance of the time of Nero with the Old Slavonic title 'Kamo griadeshi? (Quo vadis?) translated from the Polish of Henry Senkevich, are each continued.—The romance entitled 'Their Souls,' translated from the French of the Countess de-Martel (known as Gyp), and the unclassical romance 'Goddess Diana,' by P. A. Sergienka, are each concluded, the former contrary to the expectation as expressed in our last review.—'Poetry' is represented by one short piece of 40 lines only by L. M. Medveydeff.—A first instalment of *Mistress* (spelt in full pretty much as English writers would eke out

the Russian contraction Ga. by Gospozha) Ward's romance 'Marcella,' comprising four chapters, is given, translated from the English by A. S. M. These seven items, creatures of the imagination, occupy 200 pages of the present number.—'Chief Moments (or Periods) in History of the Peace Idea' is a very thoughtful essay by L. A. Kamarofski, divided into four heads: 1. The period of antiquity; 2. The middle age; 3. The period of absolutism; and 4. Modern times; with a general conclusion in which, as Dr. Johnson once wrote, nothing is concluded, excepting the self-evident truism that Peace, if possible, is far more desirable than War.—'A New Work on the Amour Domain' is a review by A. F. F. of a volume entitled 'Description of the Amour Domain' by the Minister of Finance, G. E. Groum-Grzhimaylo, edited by P. P. Semenoff.—'On the History of Contemporary Georgian Literature' Prince I. G. Tchavtchavadzey is entitled to be heard, but his subject is a little wide of the beaten track of the average cultured Briton. A late learned theologian of Swiss parentage, the Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A., Vicar of Broadwindsor, did not, however, feel himself bound by British restrictions, but presented to the world among other works 'A Short History of the Georgian Church,' by Plato Ioselian, and a volume of 'Sermons by Gabriel, Bishop of Imereth,' translated from the Georgian. (London: Saunders, Otley, & Co., for both volumes). From these works the Western reader will realize that learning and piety have still their home in the East.—'Insurance of Labourers in Germany,' by G. B. Jollos; 'Observations concerning Literature,' by O. T. V.; and I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life,' are each continued.—'History considered as a Science' is a review of P. Lacombe's work of the same title, in French, by our old friend I. N. K.—'Natural Production and Taxation,' by P. A. Goloubeff, and 'A Scientific Appraisal of Vegetarianism,' by F. F. Erismann, are papers which justify each its title.—'Foreign Review' is less interesting than usual. The parliamentary affairs of France and Italy almost crowd out all other news.—'Home Review' treats of the new project of criminal law, having in view the amelioration of the prisons department, and re-arrangement of sentences in accordance with modern requirements and the teaching of criminal legislature in foreign countries; the forthcoming general census throughout the Russian Empire, which will be carried out upon principles elaborated by science; the project of law regulating the Artel or workmen's guilds; the results of the working of the Zemtsvoe or Provincial Councils; the Commission for revising the existing laws with reference to charitable institutions; the forthcoming Congress in Moscow concerning Technical

Education; an obituary notice of N. Ch. Bungay, formerly Professor of Political Economy and Minister of Finance; and lastly a proposal from the Moscow Society for promoting useful knowledge of competitive essays for publication on the subjects of: 1. Persecutions of the early Christians; 2. The occupation and colonization of Siberia; and 3. On Water, its importance to the land, and its application to the needs of men, animals, and plants. —The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 30 new works, of which two only have reference to English affairs; the one being entitled 'Auguste Comte et Herbert Spencer: contribution à l'histoire des idées philosophiques au XIX. siècle, par E. de Roberty. Paris, 1895; the other being a 'History of Civilization in England,' by Boklyah (?).

ITALY.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 1st).—P. B. has a paper on 'Manzonian Anniversaries,' giving a list of the principal publications and dates of events connected with the great Italian novelist. —G. Claretta relates the facts of the journey of Francis III., Duke of Tuscany, through Piedmont, and his stay at the Court of Charles Emmanuel III. of Sardinia. —Signora Savi-Lopez contributes an interesting article on the 'Popular Songs of the Slavs.' —V. Marchese discourses on 'Parish Priests as Schoolmasters.' —R. Ricci writes on 'Italian Parliamentarism.' —Professor Scalvanti has a hopeful paper on the 'Heritage of the Nineteenth Century,' upholding the faith in good, and in the victory of brotherhood and peace among the nations. —(August 15th)—E. Cenni discusses the importance of helping Italian Missions in the East. —S. Ricci describes the 'Study in France of Greek Juridical Epigraphs.' P. C. Tondini de Quarenghi has a paper on the 'Universal Hour and the Initial Meridian of Jerusalem.' —G. S. Scandaelli relates the chief facts in the life of 'Father Rauzan,' so well known in France, and so little in Italy. —P. Campello della Spina has a political article entitled 'Hopes and Fears;' and R. Corniani one on the 'Approaching Fêtes of the 20th of September.' —A. Zardo contributes a note about 'St. Antonio of Padua.' —(Sept. 1st)—'The Social Spirit' is a paper by G. M. Ferrari, purposing to show that true socialism has its roots in Christianity. He argues on the relation of religion to law and morals; the meaning of the revival of faith and the sentiment of duty; the effect of Atheism on human society. He describes the communism of the Apostles and of the first Christian sects, and notes the objections made to evangelical doctrine. He argues that the study of nature is promoted and not hindered

by Christianity, and ends by asserting that charity (in the sense of love) is the only weapon which can defeat the egoism of the strong, and the rebellious tendencies of the weak.—C. Carnevecchi gives a detailed account of monastic life in the thirteenth century.—A. Centelli has an article on 'Japan.'—Dr. Massalongo has something to say on 'Hospitals for Consumptive Patients.'—G. Zaccagnini criticises Guido Fortebracci's new romance 'The Romance of Ruggero,' calling it sincere art.—C. Mancini writes a few words on 'Cantu as a Politician.'—Follows an advance chapter of a new novel by Fogazzero, which will be published next month. The fragment is entitled 'Fisherfolk.'—(Sept. 16th)—In this number we have: 'Socialism in the late Elections,' by G. P. Assirelli; 'The Graphic Application of Electricity,' by R. Ferriui; 'Italian Prose,' by A. Ghignoni; 'Herbert Spencer on Religion and Science,' by F. de Felice; 'Notes of a Master,' by Daniele; 'Parliamentary Incidents,' by L. Ferraris; 'Pasquer's Memoirs,' by G. Grabrinskii, to be continued; and 'The Eucharistic Congress in Milan and the Celebrations in Rome.'

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 1).—After continuations of previous papers, the present number contains an 'Account of Charles Bourbon II. and the Revolution of Parma,' by G. Sforza.—A. Chiappelli writes on 'Socialism and Art,' pointing out how Socialism has been treated in English, French, and German books, novels, and pamphlets.—An interesting paper is 'The Chemistry of the Atmosphere' by Massino Tortelli.—A second literary paper is one by E. G. Boner (ended in next number) on 'Pessimism in Russian Fiction.'—The 'Bibliographical Bulletin' notices J. A. Hobson's, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, generally with praise, but pointing out that the author's explanation of the relations between machinery and industrial depression is very confused, and his observations about the necessity of consumption very strange.—(August 15).—Carducci writes apropos of a 'Dantesque diplomatic codex.'—E. Arbib discusses the late elections in England, and concludes that there is not a shadow of doubt that the decimated Liberal party will soon be once more victorious, most likely before the close of the century.—O. Brano writes a very pleasant paper on 'Rain and Wind,' using as a motto Longfellow's poem, 'How beautiful is the rain,' and quoting Shakespeare, Milton, and other English poets.—F. Nunziato begins a historical paper on 'Metastasio in Naples.'—(September 1).—R. Bonfadini has a paper on 'Rome and the Italian Monarchy.'—A. Venturi contributes an 'iconographico-aesthetic' study on angels.—G. Alboni

writes on 'Boiardo and his works.'—The esteemed novelist, Luigi Capuano, commences a new work called 'The Sphinx.'—P. Cantalupi gives a description of 'Vienna and its people.'—N. Scarano writes on the 'Solidity of the Shades in the Divine Comedy.'—Some satirical poems by Franchetti follow. —(September, 15th)—Signor Bonghi here writes an exhaustive political and statistical article on the '20th September.' He describes the causes and effects of the decadence which has taken place in Italy since that period, and indicates what efforts must be made to keep in mind the high aims which it was at first intended to reach. These aims are the only thing, he says, that can make Italy to be honoured. The Italian people are not wanting in energy, as has been sufficiently proved, and they must not be discouraged, but, looking high, they must 'work, work, work!' 'Let us not,' concludes Bonghi, 'abandon the least of our rights; let us not neglect the least of our duties towards the past and towards the future. The more difficult the task, the more we must persevere. And we shall conquer. *Avanti Savoia*, our Queen once cried. Yes; *avanti Savoia*, and *avanti Italia* with our Queen and King!'—P. Fambre contributes an interesting paper on 'Arnaldo Fusinato, as Man and Poet.'—E. Panzacchi writes on the 'Artistic Condition of Venice;' and Amilcan Lauria begins a series of articles on 'Old Neapolitan Memories' by the story of Michele Viscuso, the 'friend of the people.'—A. Zardo has something to say about 'Count Platen and Venice.'

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (1895, No. 2).—G. Salvemini writes on the abolition of the Order of Templars, apropos of a recent publication, *Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens*. by Dr. Gmelin.—G. Rossi contributes a paper on the death of the Count of Ieuda.—G. Sforza gives an account of the impostor Alfonso Ceccarelli and the Prince of Massa.—D. Marzi has some notes about further archives in Tuscan Romagna.

GIORNALE DANTESCO (1895, No. 3).—D. De-Vit has a short article on 'Dante and Boniface VIII.'—G. Lanina writes on G. Barzizza's commentary of Dante, and on an inedited MSS.—G. Maruffi speaks of the obscure words of Love in the Vita Nova.—S. Saetti has something to say about Pier delle Vigne.—G. De Leonardis discusses the 'eternal beauty' on the face of Beatrice.—(No. 4).—'The Pain of Suicide,' by S. D. Chiara.—'Barzizza's Comments and an MSS.,' by E. Lamma.—'A periphrase of Dante,' by L. Filomusi-Guelfi.—'A pretended Dantesque Contradiction,' by E. Carboni.—'On the so-called Dante Chapel at Terni,' by U. Cosmo.

RIFORMA SOCIALE (July 10) contains:—‘Work,’ by F. S. Nitti.—‘The true development of Labour-Associations,’ by D. Hirsch.—‘Fiscal Enormities,’ by L. Paolini.—‘The Drawback,’ by G. P. Sitta.—‘Rural Banks and the Catholic Movement,’ by A. Contento.

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTA (July, August) contains: ‘The Condition of the Monetary Marker;’ ‘Protectionism and Misgovernment;’ ‘The Cause of Protectionism;’ ‘Work and Nervous Maladies;’ ‘The Institutions of Credit in Reggio Emilê;’ ‘Providence;’ ‘Political Parties in 1895;’ ‘The Problem of Population in the writings of Francesco Ferrara;’ ‘Providence and Co-operation.’—(September, 1895).—‘The Agronomic Basis of the Theory of Rents.’—‘Discordances in Dates on the Increase of Savings in Italy.’—‘Two Articles on Liquidation.’—etc.

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (July) contains: ‘The Paintings of Mozzillo in the Hall of St. Eligio, by F. Bonazzi.—‘San Marcellino,’ by G. Ceci.—‘The Sculptures of Michael Angelo Naccherino in Naples,’ by A. di Serracaprioli.—‘The Street of Toledo III. Noble Palaces,’ by A. Colombo.—‘The Naples Penacothek in 1802,’ by N. F. Faraglia.—Notes and Reviews.—(August).—‘The Chapel of Minutolo in the Naples Cathedral.’—Part IV. of ‘The Sansevero Chapel and Don Raimondo di Sangro.’—Continuation of ‘San Marcellino’ and of ‘The Street Toledo.’—(September, 1895)—contains: ‘The Madonna dell’ Arco,’ by G. Amalfi.—‘Giovanni and Pacio of Florence and their works in Naples.’—‘The Mausoleum of King Robert in the Church of Santa Chiara,’ by E. Bertoux.—‘The Sansevero Chapel and Raimondo of Sangro,’ by F. Colonna di Stigliano.—‘The Names of the New Streets of Naples,’ by C. del Pezzo.

LA VITA ITALIANA (August, September, 1895).—‘Neapolitan Types and Salons,’ by A. Capiera.—‘Profiles of Italian Artists.’—‘In the Season of Harvest.’—‘A Rare Ideal.’—‘Giordano Bruno in England.’—‘From the Heart.’—‘Heine and Modern Humour.’—‘The Life of a Pontiff illustrated by a Painter’—‘Venetian Type and Salons.’—‘Literary Profiles.’—‘Distant Profiles.’—‘Biographical Profiles.’—‘Among our Flowers.’—‘Italians Abroad.’—‘City Couriers.’—‘The Emperor of Germany in Rome.’—‘The Venaria and the Mandria.’—‘Our Babies.’—‘The Army and Military Education.’—‘The Journalists at Lepriano.’—‘Visions of the Past.’—‘A Story of the Sea.’—‘Away with the Flag; an Episode of the Chilian Revolution in 1791.’—‘A Memory of Paolo Maspero.’—‘The Baths of

Lucca.'—'Again about Loreto.'—'Alpine Pensions.'—'Rome in Historic Visions.'—'The Third Rome.'—'How the Temporal Power Arose.'—'Villa Corsini.'—'The Tiber.'—'The Portrait of Bianco Capello.'—'An Indian Landscape at Rome.'—'Alpine Landscapes.'—'Visions of the Past.'—'Italian Industries.'

RIVISTA MARITTIMA (August, September, 1895).—'Side by Side.'—'The Mechanical Application of Electricity in Men-of-War.'—'A Contribution to the National Solution of the Balistic Problem.'—'The Low Project for the Merchant-Service.'—'The Mediterranean Military Situation.'

RIVISTA DI SOCIOLOGIA (August, 1895).—'Cerebral Decay and Primary Education.'—'The Tendency of Modern Thought and the Knowledge of the Future.'—'Languages and Literature in the Present Populations of Africa.'—Notes, etc.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1895).—M. E. Blochet furnishes a series of Pehlevi religious documents in Pehlevi character, and accompanies them with a translation and copious notes.—M. Albert Fournier takes us back to the old controversy that raged so vehemently in the early Church over Jerome's translation of the Hebrew *kikayon*, the plant that covered Jonah's booth, 'which came up in a night and perished in a night.' Jerome maintained, in defence, that there was no Latin word for the plant in question, and that the Septuagint was in error as to it in the rendering *kolokunthé* which it gave for it. M. Fournier reviews briefly the controversy, and then discusses the question itself as to what the plant was which the author of the book of Jonah had in his thought. Jerome's translation, *hedera*, ivy, he rejects, and regards Jerome's explanation of the kind of *hedera* intended as altogether unsatisfactory. The *kikayon*, he maintains, was known to Latin writers, and is referred to by Pliny, so that Jerome had no excuse for the blunder he committed. Herodotus also refers to it as a plant well known in Egypt, whose fruit went there by the name of *cici*. M. Fournier describes its properties, and the rapidity of its growth under very favourable circumstances. He identifies it with the *ricinus communis*. He does not, of course, discuss the question as to the historic character of the narrative in Jonah iv. 5, 6, but only as to what the plant was which the writer of the book had in his thoughts when penning that incident.—M. Alfred Millioud translates from the Japanese an account of the founding and history of the Catholic convent at Kyoto, which the Emperor Nobouanga, 1573-1592, raised

The narrative is from the pen of a patriotic Japanese, Ki-yon, who shows no love for the convent or the principles it represented. The translation of the history is not finished in this number.—M. Eugene Monseur, under the title, 'Notes de Folklore à propos de l'épopée celtique de M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville,' pays a warm tribute to the merits of M. de Jubainville's labours in connection with Celtic mythology and early literature in general, and specially in his *Cours de littérature celtique*, the fifth volume of which has recently been issued. The bulk of M. E. Monseur's article, however, is taken up with original 'notes,' the outcome of his personal researches in the same field, which he offers here as supplementary to the rich harvest of M. de Jubainville's gleanings.—M. I. Goldziher reviews M. René Basset's translation of the 'Bordah,'—'La Bordah du cheikh El-Bousiri,'—better known as 'the poem of Manteau,' and M. Emile Chassinat reviews Professor Lieblein's translation of the Egyptian work, which he titles, 'Que mon nom fleurisse.'—Several other important works are reviewed also at considerable length, and valuable summaries given of them, as, e.g., M. Paul Regnaud's *Les premières formes de la religion et de la tradition dans l'Inde et la Grèce*; M. G. Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique—Les origines—Égypte et Chaldée*; and Groot's *The Religious System of China, its ancient forms, evolution, history, and present aspect, manners, customs and social institutions*, two volumes of which have now been published.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1895).—Monseigneur Charles de Harlez introduces here to more general notice two ancient Chinese moralists, Shi-tze and Liu-shi, and favours us with samples of their ethical teaching. The ancient literature of China that has been preserved is unfortunately, in many instances, preserved in MS. in private or quasi-public libraries, but has not been published, and is only known to a few of the more curious and industrious of Chinese scholars. One of these latter is Mgr. de Harlez himself, and he endeavours here to pay a tardy tribute of respect to two worthy teachers of lofty ethical principles, who have been too long neglected, and whose teaching he rightly regards as worthy of the attention of the philosophers and moralists of the present day. Shi-tze was an honoured name in the time of the Han dynasty, and in those also of Sui and Tang. Since then he has suffered from a somewhat unaccountable neglect. He lived, Mgr. de Harlez thinks, later than Lao-tze and Confucius, probably in the fourth century B.C. Liu-shi was a distinguished statesman under Shi-hoang-ti, about the

middle of the third century A.D. The work he is credited with, and from which Mgr. Harlez here quotes extensively, is more a 'history' than a moral treatise (though ethical maxims abound in it), and is in fact entitled 'Tchun-Tsion,' or 'Annals.' But it is to the ethical teaching of the work that our author here gives the greatest prominence, while he is at pains to show by quotations what is the general character of the treatise as a whole.—M. Bourdais writes on 'Le procede de sectionnement dans la cosmogonie sémitique.' He enters first into the ideas entertained by the Biblical writers of the creator of the universe, as revealed in the names by which they designated him—Elohim, Jahweh-Elohim, El-Elion, Chokmah, Amon, and by Phœnician and Chaldeo-Babylonian writers, in the names these gave him respectively. The Semitic writers, as a whole, regarded the agent of the creation as an intermediary between the Supreme Being and the objects created. Dr. Bourdais enters into elaborate details as to the Theogonies of Semitic writers, and compares the data they furnish bearing on the subject in hand.—The *Chronique* is again all that could be desired, and its comprehensiveness is worthy of all praise.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July, August, September).—M. Edouard Rod heads the first of the six numbers for this quarter with the opening sections of an essay on Goethe. His object is to consider the German writer's works as though they were contemporary, to judge them on their own merits, and to arrive, respecting them, at a conclusion which shall be uninfluenced by stereotyped opinions. He begins his study with an examination of Goethe's *Memoirs*. From this he passes on, in the number for the 1st of August, to what he calls the 'romantic crisis'; and a third instalment, which appears in the first of the September numbers, deals with the sentimental crisis. Whilst endeavouring to do justice to Goethe, and whilst recognising the greatness of his genius, M. Rod does not share the somewhat unreasoning and uncritical enthusiasm which various circumstances have helped to revive of late years; and he does not hesitate to challenge the justice of the judgment commonly accepted as final with regard to certain works. Of this *Werther* seems to be that which he considers overrated. Whilst recognising its importance in literary history, he denies it a place amongst those works which seem destined to exercise a lasting influence, to remain as a real and active force amongst future generations.—In 'Villégiature, Bains de Mer et Stations Thermales' Dr. Jules Rochard deals from a scientific point of view with that question which, with an ever-increasing number of people, annually presents itself for solution, to wit, 'Where shall we go for our holi-

days?' The conclusion at which the ordinary reader will arrive is, that those are best off who are best able to follow their own inclination, without troubling greatly about the respective merits, from the hygienic point of view, of seaside and inland, highland and lowland resorts.—In two consecutive numbers, those for the 15th of July and the 1st of August, M. Emile Faguet makes Auguste Comte the subject of a very able and suggestive critical study, dealing first with his general ideas and his method, then with his ethics and his religion. The tone of the whole essay may be understood from these concluding sentences: 'Comte has rendered brilliant services to the human mind. Nobody has traced better than he has done the respective limits of science, of philosophy, and of religion, and indicated the point at which one should stop and the other begin, the point, too, where one, without being conscious of it, assumes the spirit and the method of the other, at the risk of entangling and confusing everything. These limitations are necessary, and everybody profits by them, or should know how to profit by them. Nobody has defined better than he has done the three essential tendencies of the human mind, which he takes, doubtless wrongly, for three epochs, but which, being without doubt eternal, should be exactly defined, in order that the mind should see clearly into itself. His penetration and his intellect, by enabling him to understand everything, have led him to love everything, except what is decidedly too narrow, too negative, too exclusively polemical, and a spirit of lofty impartiality reigns in all his work. As to the future of science, its final preponderance, its aptitude for satisfying the human mind and for exclusively ruling humanity, he perhaps entertained too great a confidence; and Positivism has not proved capable of all he credited it with, nor able completely to satisfy the human mind. He would answer that it is a matter of time, and that though the theological and metaphysical residuum has not yet been consumed, it is none the less destined to be so one day. Without being so confident as he, we may answer that it is a great deal to have given a precise definition, and an admirably clear, logical, and well-ordered systematic description of one of the essential elements of our knowledge, to have mapped out and sub-divided its domain, and clearly indicated its limits. Above all, it is something to provoke thought, and in this respect Auguste Comte is marvellous. He is the most powerful sower of ideas and intellectual stimulator that our century has seen; the greatest thinker, to my mind, that France has had since Descartes.'—In an article as remarkable for its literary merit as for its sound knowledge and appreciation of its art, M. Robert de La Sizeranne inquires why it is that whilst

literature has made war and battles one of its favourite subjects, as witness Zola and Tolstoi, painting seems to have almost completely turned away from the subjects in which David, Gros, Géricault, and Vernet excelled. His answer, so far as it can be compressed into a few words, is that in antique warfare man was beautiful; in modern warfare, even down to the middle of the present century, he was picturesque; but now, he is a thinker; and that it is consequently no longer to sculpture nor to painting that the fighter belongs, but to literature, and notably to that literature which is termed psychological.—The 15th of July and the 15th of August bring further instalments of M. Filon's most interesting sketch of the contemporary English stage. In the former of them Byron's burlesques, Marie Wilton, Bancroft, Tom Robertson, and Gilbert, are dealt with; the latter deals with Sir Henry Irving, Tennyson's dramas, and Mr. Archer's dramatic criticism. It would be difficult to speak too highly of these articles of M. Filon's. They reveal not only a thorough mastery of the subject, but an independence of judgment and an originality which raise them far above the level of ordinary magazine literature.—Count d'Haussonville's personal reminiscences of the Comte de Paris appear in the first of the two September numbers, and supply some very interesting and most readable matter.—A narrative of the expedition to Madagascar in 1829, comes just at the right moment to be interesting, and is, after M. Filon's contribution—another instalment of 'The Contemporary English Stage'—the most generally interesting item in the somewhat heavy number that closes the quarter.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No 2, 1895).—This number opens with a short tribute to the memory of M. Joseph Derenbourg, whose death, at the ripe age of eighty-four, was felt in July this year as a universal loss to the world of letters. The present tribute is little more than an apology for delay in issuing one more full and worthy of the savant and philanthropist, who had then passed away, but tributes from the heads or representatives of several of the learned institutions with which he had been connected, and which in every case he had largely aided and adorned, are given here, and they all show how deep a chord was touched in all hearts by the tidings of his death.—M. M. Friedlaender contributes an extremely valuable and interesting article on 'La propagande religieuse des Juifs grecs avant l'ère chrétienne.' He brings out from the Greek Jewish writers, such as the authors of the Sibylline poems (the Jewish, of course, not the Christian), Philo, and other writers of the Diaspora, how strong the passion burned in the bosom of the Jews, whose lot made them daily wit-

nesses of heathen rites and superstitions, to see their neighbours freed from these, and brought to know, love, and worship Jehovah. The efforts made by these Jews to spread the knowledge of their religion, and to bring those around them under its power, were both earnest and numerous. They were, too, very successful; and M. Friedlaender is at pains to present here the proofs of that success, as gathered from the testimony of such writers as Josephus, Cicero, etc.; from those prejudiced perhaps in favour of the race to which they belonged, and rejoicing in the wide-spread and powerful influence they saw being exercised by it, and from those who were certainly prejudiced against the Jews, and who deplored that influence (which yet they acknowledged) as little short of a national calamity.—M. J. Lehmann gives us a first instalment of an essay entitled 'Les sectes juives mentionnées dans la Mishna de Berakhot et de Meguilla.' The sects here introduced to us are the 'Chassidim' and the 'Essenes,' with others. M. Lehmann begins his paper by quoting from the Seder Berakoth, ch. v., two sayings as to worshippers; the first is in praise of the 'pious of ancient days' who silently directed their hearts to God an hour before prayer, and the other as to those who made use of certain phrases or repetitions, which the author of the Mishna regarded as objectionable and derogatory to God. The first order our author here identifies with the 'Chassidim.' The name given them in the passage quoted—*Chassidim rischonim*, 'the pious of ancient days'—was the favourite name, in whole or in part, by which they were constantly designated, and M. Lehmann here adduces proof that they formed a select party in Judah, and describes their characteristics. Under the second class come the Essenes, the Jewish Christians, and Mystics. M. Lehmann enters into minute details (combining the teaching of R. Hanina and a passage from the Meguilla) as to why the things specified in the Mishna, as above, were objectionable. The article is not completed here.—M. S. Krauss continues and concludes his paper on 'La fête de Hanoucca.' In the previous number he had dealt with the origin and early history of the festival, and explained its joyful character and some of its peculiarities by showing its connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, as testified to in II. Maccabees. He takes up its history here in the days of Trojan. The observance of the festival by the Jews was regarded with suspicion by the Roman authorities, and even led to persecutions directed against them. M. Krauss quotes or refers to some interesting texts as to these persecutions. He quotes from several rabbinical authorities in regard to the events connected with the

festival in the first year of the reign of Hadrian, and then adds some observations on the sources from which he has drawn the details he has given, and on which he has based his conclusions.—M. I. Lévi sets himself in a paper, which he heads, 'La fête Hanoucca et le *Jus primae noctis*,' to correct M. Krauss in regard to what he had said in the previous part of his essay as to the origin of the part which women took in the festival. It was not, he says, the Syrians that M. Krauss's authorities charged with the offences they make mention of, but the Romans, and the name 'Syrians,' which appears in their texts, was a mere blind adopted from prudential motives.—The other articles to which attention may here be called are—M. W. Bacher's 'Le grammairien anonyme de Jérusalem et son livre'; M. G. Sacerdote's 'Deux index expurgatoires de livres hébreux'; M. I. Lévi's 'Louis VIII. et les Juifs'; and 'Saint Césaire et les Juifs d'Arles'; and M. M. Schwab's 'Notes de comptabilité juive du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle.'

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE, (No. 3, 1895).—In his 'Recherches Bibliques' in this number M. J. Halévy confines himself to the text of Genesis xxi. Briefly summarising its contents, he then notes the various expressions and words in the Hebrew which call for explanation, or may be made more lucid by a reference to their usage elsewhere. After that he discusses the relation of the text to the narratives preceding it. Its references to these narratives are numerous, and perfectly clear. Verse 1 recalls the promises given in xvii. 16, and xviii. 14; v. 2 is the echo of xvii. 21, and of xviii. 14. The name given to the son of Abraham's old age, 'Isaac,' loses its significance without xvii. 17. 19. Verse 7 finds its explanation only in what is said already in xviii. 12-15. The term 'Egyptian,' applied to Hagar (v. 9.) points back to xvi. 1. Hagar's wanderings in 'the desert of Beer-sheba' are explained by what was said in xx. 1, that Abraham 'journeyed towards the south country.' The references to the preceding narratives in Genesis abound in fact everywhere in this chapter, and certify its unity with the history preceding it. Yet, M. Halévy complains, the critics of the modern schools declare the chapter a conglomerate from the various documents, A.B.C.; out of which they assert that our present Genesis is composed. M. Halévy regards this very chapter as not only flatly contradicting their theory, but as in itself sufficient to destroy the whole edifice they have so laboriously raised on the different names 'Yahwé' and 'Elohim' used for the Deity. The first five verses are extremely instructive, he shows, in regard to the system advocated by these critics of the 'modern school,' but in several other respects, which

he is careful to point out, this section of Genesis is adverse to their contention.—M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Index des ideogrammes et mots contenus dans les lettres babyloniennes d' El-Amarna,' in M. Halévy's transcription and translation of these letters.—M. S. Karppe also continues his 'Notes' on the text of the Nabopolassar inscription recently published in an amended form by Mr. H. V. Hilprecht, Professor of Assyriology in Philadelphia.—M. A. Huart's 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure' receives here another instalment.—M. E. Drouin, under the title, 'Les Inscriptions de Bhattiprolu,' directs the attention of the readers of this *Revue* to an article which the Professor of Sanskrit in Vienna, Prof. Bühler, published in the *Epigraphia Indica* of March 1894, and then, as No. 3 of his 'Indian Studies,' on the inscriptions found in the stûpa of Bhattiprolu, in the presidency of Madras. Their interest lies chiefly in the characters in which they are engraved. The alphabet employed is a variety of the Maurya alphabet, that known as the South Maurya alphabet. M. J. Halévy, in an essay which appeared in *Journal Asiatique* ten years ago, maintained that this alphabet has been formed on the Aramaic, and introduced into India after the Macedonians had penetrated into the Punjab, about 330 B.C. It is not to this point which M. Drouin calls attention but to Prof. Bühler's remarks on the script itself which is employed in these inscriptions. But in a long essay which follows M. Halévy himself deals with Professor Bühler's article, and especially with the arguments he marshals against M. Halévy's position as to the introduction of the script in question, into India. M. H. here reproduces those arguments in an abbreviated form, and then examines them, and shows how inconclusive they are. He proceeds then to strengthen the position he took up ten years ago by fresh proofs, and these for the most part drawn from the results of fresh discoveries made since then, and from the results of the labours of Sanskrit scholars in this field of study since 1885.—The 'Bibliographie' here is also from the pen of M. Halévy himself, whose literary industry and fertility seem inexhaustible.

LE MONDE MODERNE.—The August number contains a sketch by G. de Peyrebrune, and an interesting tale of fourteenth century Venice.—'Le Nouveau Voyage,' in a petroleum machine, and another paper, by M. Vallet, deal with France; and equally interesting are the articles on Thibet and Tonkin.—The centenary of the Paris Conservatoire suggests an account of its origin in the Revolution and the scenes in which it has played a part.—Military subjects are represented by 'The Russian Army on the German Frontier,' and M. Guydo's

'Present-day Warships'; and science by 'Azote and Vegetable Life,' 'The Corinth Canal,' under the title of the 'Deepest Cutting in the World'; and a paper on the 'Depopulation of the Sea,' in which reference is made to the station at Dunbar and to the work of various Scottish scientists.—(September).—Fiction is well represented by 'Yanossik,' a Polish story, and 'Le Psautier fleuri,' an idyll of convent life.—M. J. de Convey describes the Dutch women's headgear.—Other papers are on 'Montenegro,' 'The Hurricanes on the Atlantic Coast of the United States in 1893,' the two little German capitals, 'Luxembourg and Sigmaringen'; while M. Legras takes us further afield to Archangel.—Art is represented by 'The Engravings in the Louvre,' and 'L'Oeuvre de Berlioz.'—Other writers deal with 'Military Telegraphs,' 'Iron Foundries,' the 'Breton Sardine Fisheries,' and 'The Triumph of Modern Surgery.'—(October).—Specially interesting articles in this number are those on the Caverns of Sanct-Cazian in Austria, which have only been accessible for the last two or three years, and that on 'An Open-air Museum,' being a collection of characteristic dwellings of North European peoples, arranged in Sweden by M. Hazelius.—Other articles are, 'Légende de Mistral,' 'Notes athéniennes,' 'Un ancêtre des Anarchistes,' 'Les Vins du Médoc,' 'Jours de triomphe,' 'Les surprises de la route,' describing the quaint old city of Landsberg.—Papers of the same description deal with Chartres and Brussels.—Captain Danrit discourses in a somewhat sanguine tone on 'Military Cycling,' and M. de Loges has an interesting paper on 'The Modern Steam Laundry.'—M. H. Buffenoir gives one of a series of papers on the 'Salons of Paris.'—All the numbers of the magazine are noticeable for their excellent illustrations.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Juillet, 1895).—The first place in this number is given to an article bearing the signature of M. S. Reinach, on the 'Religion of the Galatians.' According to Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Celtic religion followed precisely the same ritual in Asia as in Gaul—an opinion which Dr. Usener has endeavoured to confirm in a paper recently contributed to the *Rheinische Museum*, with the object of showing that both the Eudæans and the Celts of Asia Minor were both worshippers of a certain goddess, Diana. M. Reinach examines a number of passages, and decides against both.—M. I. Loth, in a note, returns to his controversy with Zimmer anent Nennius.—Dr. Whitley Stokes here completes his excellent papers on 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas,' and furnishes the whole series with the requisite indices.—Following these we have a note

from the pen of M. Loth on the 'Lot among the Germans and the Celts.'—Two papers follow dealing with the grammar and dialects of the Breton tongue.—In the 'Necrologie' we have a sympathetic notice of the late M. F.-M. Luzel.—As usual, the 'Chronique' is full of information, and much that is of interest may be gleaned from 'Periodiques.'

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September)—In the paper which he entitles 'The New Scientific Terms adopted by the French Academy,' and which heads the table of contents of the first of these three numbers, M. Ernest Naville points out how the progress of science is indicated by the inclusion of new terms, and how, in consequence, the dictionary supplies a summarised history of that progress during the last thirty or forty years.—Concluding his article on the question of Morocco, which has already run through two numbers, M. Pierre Martel suggests, as a possible solution of the political problem to which Morocco has given rise, the neutralization of the country, or at least of the Straits, of which the strategical importance is comparable to that of the territory bordering on the Suez Canal.—M. Aug. Glardon brings his study of Robert Louis Stevenson's works to a close. Much of it is devoted to summaries and quotations, intended as much to arouse the reader's interest as to illustrate his own critical remarks. The conclusion at which he arrives is that 'Stevenson will have been very useful to the English language, and to a certain extent to psychology; that his tales of adventure will delight future generations; but that he will have had no influence on the moral life of his contemporaries.'—'Petoefi, a Magyar poet,' who, at the age of 26, died on the field of battle of Segesvar, is made the subject of a very interesting biographical and literary essay by M. Edouard Sayous.—Colonel Lecomte examines, in a paper entitled 'La Revision militaire en Suisse,' certain reforms which it is the intention of some statesmen to propose for adoption. The article, obviously, is only of slight interest for those who are not quite familiar with the military organization of the Helvetic Republic.—'L'Argent et les Fortunes dans l'ancienne France,' is the title of a paper which M. Rossier bases on the *Economic History of Property, Salaries, and Commodities*, lately published in France. The article is most instructive, and shows how immensely the purchasing value of money has diminished from century to century. As an example, it takes a capitalist possessing 1000 livres tournois in the year 1200. By lending it out at 10

per cent., no unusual rate in those days, he gets an income of 9796 francs (nearly £392 of our present money). Two centuries later, to say nothing of the difficulty of getting the same rate of interest, the capital produces only 3388 francs (about £139). In 1600, not only has the value of money fallen, but the rate of interest has come down to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the income sinks to 417 francs—less than £5. Finally, in 1895, it has been reduced to 33 francs, 25 centimes, or something like £1 7s. 6d!—A very original idea has been carried out by M. Paul Stapfer in his essay, 'La Fille de Montaigne.' From the essayist's own works, he has pieced together a sketch of the only one of his six daughters who lived beyond childhood. The article is particularly interesting as practically illustrating Montaigne's views on education.—In the three numbers there are instalments of a paper on Swiss railways.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (July, 1895).—The 'Drama' of Emilia Pardo Bazan is completed in this number, ending in a tragedy, effectively but not melodramatically told.—A study of 'Captain Clavijo,' and the mental processes by which he arrived at the commission of the crime of shooting General Rivera, is a careful psychological examination of the difference between a criminal, and a normal intellect driven to commit what is virtually a crime. Without excusing Clavijo, Rafael Salillas 'explains' the conduct of a noble soldier, who 'redeemed all his faults by the grandeur of his death;' who had been driven by suffering to desperation, until he touched upon madness.—'The Cuban Insurrection,' takes a very calm, but necessarily prejudiced view of the situation. It acknowledges the wrongs of the island, but holds them to be economic and not political, and to be cureable by the Spanish Parliament, and not by war. The writer, however, ignores the fact that Cuba has groaned for long under the wrongs complained of, and objects to be sucked dry for an impoverished mother country, that has not reached its liberal standpoint. A valuable and interesting paper nevertheless.—Echegaray's pleasant and readable 'Reminiscences' continue.—Castelar in his 'International Chronicle,' gives us a better insight into his views by discussing 'Albert,' the French Republican leader lately deceased. He reviews the European situation with a wide grasp, and states his confidence in a 'Conservative Republic.'—'Cuban Naturalists,' enters into a department of literature which is valuable, and ought to be consulted by our bibliographers.—'The Literary Chronicle' deals mainly with the academic receptions and addresses; 'The International Press' with

the Jewish woman, who was on an equality with man.—Wolf's most informing 'Spanish and Portuguese Literature,' with notes by Menendez y Pelago, is continued.—(August, 1895).—'Pedro Mari' is a short tale of life on the Spanish-French frontier, on the outbreak of the Peninsular war, by Arturo Campion.—'Political Satire in the time of Henry IV.,' endeavours to show that, although 'without doubt the twenty years of that reign, and especially the last ten, was one of the saddest and most calamitous of our history,' yet this reign produced the clever satires *Coplas del Provincial* and *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*.—'The National Archæological Museum,' in the New Palace, gives a resumé of the contents of the National Museum of Antiquities, thrown open free to the public in Madrid lately.—'The Modern Spirit in Spain' is a curious philosophic study of causes and effects, such as specially appeals to the Spanish mind, ruminating over the decay of its former glory, and hopeful of the new development.—'Juan de la Encina,' is a translation from the German of an account of this fifteenth century Spanish poet and author: an acknowledgment of German erudition and Spanish neglect!—'La Celestina,' the mother of the Castillian drama, which appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century, is the subject of an article based on issues of the work in Spain, Germany, and France, during the present century. This so-called *tragi-comedy* is considered the pioneer of all dramatic attempts in modern languages, and this article, with its high encomiums on the author, is also a translation from the German of Wolf.—Castelar complains in his 'International Chronicle' that the division of parties in Belgium into 'Liberal' and 'Catholic' is most dangerous: assuming as it does that no Catholic can be Liberal, and no Liberal can be a Catholic. He equally protests against France going for Tunis, Tonquin, and Madagascar, without other result than friction with England, enmity with Italy, and alliance with Russia.—Under the strange title of 'Apostleship of Printing in Spain,' we have an account of the pioneers—perambulating German masters of the new Art—who introduced it into the Peninsula.—'The Religious problem in the Novel,' deals with two new Spanish works of fiction, by Pérez Galdós, entitled 'Torquemada and St. Peter,' and 'Nazarin.'—'The Future of the White Race,' and 'Women and Darwinism,' complete a most interesting number.—(September, 1895).—Under 'Thirty Years After,' Sánchez Pérez gives some interesting reminiscences from the year 1848, of many of the Spanish notabilities—his friends.—'Present position of women in Spain,' by Doña Concepción Arenal, is a paper sent a few days before this lady's death to the Chicago Exhibition. She

holds that the Spanish woman is an imperfect worker, and consequently her work is little appreciated and badly paid for: that she is devout and superstitious, but not religious, substituting credulity for belief. The teaching even of males is at a low ebb, and that of women much lower. In law, women are debarred all public offices and looked upon as minors, while they are not thereby exempted from any responsibility, or allowed extenuating and mitigating circumstances. In politics they have no rights whatever, and all public offices or professions are debarred to them. In civil law the provinces differ, but the husband controls the wife's property without accounting, and she cannot spend his without asking. The author says little for the morality of her sex in Spain, and makes the important statement that, 'with us prostitution is not a safety valve as some pretend, but a focus that gives a measure of the evil, and contributes to propagate it.' Yet she concludes that during the last forty years women have improved, in spite of the narrow circle in which they are bound to practice their social virtues.—Castelar eulogises the Catholic Congress at Lisbon, for, while he is alarmed at Socialistic tendencies in politics and government, he does not fear them in religion and the Church. His reasons are somewhat transcendental! He is in admiration of England's power to control herself, but cannot believe in Chamberlain and Balfour being long brothers.—'Medicos in Antiquity' is full of interest.

DE GIDS.—A considerable space in the August and September numbers is occupied by a short novel of Couperus entitled 'Universal Peace.' It is a sequel to 'Majesty,' and the scenes are laid in the same lordly palaces, only the former Crown Prince is now Emperor. The interest and excellence of the former story is fully sustained. The young Emperor begins his career with a peace congress from which he hopes to date a new era for the world. Bitter disappointment awaits him, and he has instead to stamp out a revolution in his capital by force, and in the end to content himself with very moderate constitutional changes. The study of his character, his idealism roughly colliding with actual events, and his sensitive nature forced to grapple with rude realities is really admirable. No less admirable is his consort, at first cold and restrained towards him, but at last, through sympathy, begotten of trials endured in common, and mutual anxieties about their child, the pair discover their mutual devotion to each other. Other characters, Prince Edward and Princess Vera, in their unrestrained freedom of life and manners, act as a foil to the more exalted and high-toned personages.—In August, Van Deventer gives an excellent study of one of Plato's Erotic Dialogues,

'The Tyrant's madness, The Politeia.'—The Editor, Van Hall, contributes a paper on the 'Letters of Aimée Desclée,' the French actress, an often sad and pathetic revelation of the inner life of one whose public career was brilliant and gay.—There are two consecutive articles by Dufou (August and October), on 'Secondary Education in England.' Our, to a foreigner, appalling confusion of public and private schools has been well studied and comprehended. His description of Harrow as a typical public school is admirable. He recognises that everywhere in England secondary instruction is in a transition stage, and he remarks on the irrepressible national tendency towards the practical. In his second article he discusses the physical training given, not without appreciation, though it appears to him abnormal, and he certainly writes entertainingly on the subject. Moral training is his next head, under which he treats of the insular barbarity of flogging, and on other points has most interesting comparisons with French, German, and Dutch schools. Seemingly inconsequent, English pedagogy is, as regards morals, practically a success. The same cannot quite so surely be said of intellectual training, and here, too, comparison with Continental methods is full of interest. His remarks leave the impression that England has much to learn. His general conclusion is, that in English schools the duty of solving educational problems is for the most part evaded and left to be done in the sphere of the family. Our schools strike him as characterised as a whole by want of order, and in them there is constantly met a pushing to excess of pedagogic fads, still, on the whole, there are many excellences.—Another, for English readers, most interesting series of papers (September and October) is the collection of letters of Baron van Dedem, a Dutch Minister and Member of Parliament, who died last spring while on a tour in India. A short biography by Mr. N. G. Pierson, to whom the letters were written, is prefixed. They are dated from Bombay, Rawal Pindi, Calcutta, and other places in British India and Ceylon, and are extremely valuable as giving a foreign statesman's impressions of British rule, while, from a literary point of view, they are bright and delightful reading.—Cort van den Linden contributes (September) a discussion on the position of the Conservative party, as regards the suffrage and its extension, which everyone is aware must shortly be granted. The question is how to arrange it consistently with the preservation of the solidity and stability of the constitution.—The life of Huxley is appreciatively noticed by Professor Hubrecht.—An article signed M., treats of the origin of the Seven Years' War according to the views of the most recent German historians.

Ranke's great history forms a standard for comparison, and the moderns are represented by Max Lehmann and H. Delbrück. — 'Thirty Years of our History, 1863-93,' by Mr. W. H. de Beaufort, is a careful and well written record; but Holland in this period can scarcely claim much attention from outsiders. — A new story, 'Toga and Sword,' by Jaeger, begins in the October number. The scene is laid in the tropical islands of Dutch India. — 'Brain Surgery,' by Professor Winkler, is a treatise on the beginning and growth of this branch of medical science brought down to its most modern developments, not omitting mistakes and errors which, however, not infrequently were the means of leading into a true path. — 'A Justification of Reformers of Written Language,' is a curious article by Dr. Hoogvliet, in which he valiantly defends certain projected alterations in the spelling of his native tongue.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (September). — The number opens with an article on 'The Question of the Character and Origin of the Evangelical Narrative' by Mr. J. van Loon, occasioned by the appearance of Brandt's *The Gospel History and the Origin of Christianity, based on a Criticism of the Narratives of the Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus*. The radical measures of this German writer excited horror in many breasts; it was but little of the history, they felt, that survived his treatment. He did, however, acknowledge as undoubtedly historical a number of the features of the part of the narrative dealt with, and this the Dutch writer who is of the most advanced 'modern' school regards as a grave error. All the Gospel history is to his eyes ideal; it is all invented later, as the dress of certain ideas which had sprung up and established themselves in a Christian community. The first thing to be done with regard to the Gospels, he holds, is to settle what is their general character. Are they to be accounted for on the supposition that a real historical person, called Jesus, existed, and that these stories gathered round him? To an advanced 'modern' the supposition is intolerable; to him it is certain that, by a sort of nebular theory, the facts and stories of the Gospel tradition consolidated themselves out of a certain philosophic way of thinking which prevailed, he thinks, in Alexandria in the second century. The choice of Galilee as the scene of the story, the mention of Pontius Pilate, the crucifixion, and each point of the elaborate invention, is accounted for with some perfunctory reasons. If the Dutchman does not regard these reasons as adequate, for he betrays an uneasy consciousness that his method, if generally applied, would bring

all history to the ground, he yet brings them forward to serve the purpose. The paper is a remarkable instance of the art of turning history upside down, and compels the reader to suppose that in Holland the Gospels themselves are not seriously studied according to the new Synoptic method, but only theories about them. There are not wanting signs that even in Holland a reaction may ere long set in against this windy and topsy-turvy method of historical science.

ICELAND.

SUNNANFARI (an illustrated Monthly, Vols. III. and IV., July, 1893—June, 1895).—These two volumes are quite up to the level of the earlier one already noticed in this *Review*, and contain much that is interesting to students of Icelandic literature. Among the prose articles may be mentioned an appreciative notice of Guy de Maupassant, and a translation of his story, 'Moonlight;' an account of various old novels, the scene of which is laid in Iceland, by Olaf Davidson; two on the question of establishing an Icelandic University at Reykjavik, a matter warmly advocated by the editor; one on music in Iceland, and one entitled 'Criticisms and New Poems,' by Thorstein Gislason. This writer has some excellent articles in Volume IV. on 'New Icelandic Literature,' 'The Scientist' (in which is some grim satire), 'Atheism,' 'Science and Belief,' 'The Railway Question' (a humorous and sarcastic piece), and 'Icelandic Literature at Copenhagen University,' which is a spirited protest against the neglect of Iceland's later literature by the authorities there.—Two pathetic stories appear under the pseudonym of 'Thorgils gjallandi,' called 'Fölskvi' (a horse's name), and 'The Christening Dress.'—Among the longer reviews are several of living Icelandic poets, while the shorter notices include one of a new folk-lore collection by Olaf Davidson, and a pretty severe one on the Rev. W. C. Green's translation of Egil's Saga.—In the department of poetry these two volumes are particularly rich. Thorstein Erlingsson contributes some pieces in his daintiest style, such as 'Spring,' 'The Picture,' 'The Shrike,' and 'Verses,' while he touches a deeper note in 'My Book,' and is full of strong satire in 'The Pharisee's Prayer,' in which there is not a little unwitting resemblance to Burns.—Einar Hjörleifsson's dreamy muse is represented by 'The King woos the Carl's daughter,' 'The Rose,' etc.—Matthias Jochumsson, the translator of Shakespeare and Byron, pays an eloquent poetic tribute to the memory of Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson.—'Skútahraun,' by Einar Benediktsson, is a majestic survey of a lava-field, and a strik-

ing contrast to his bright poem, 'Summer-morning'; a set of 'Verses' by the same author show the true Icelandic delight in complexity of rhyme.—The work of the veteran poet, Grim Thomsen, is not unrepresented, together with many other pieces by younger men, who rise well to the general high level of Icelandic poetry.—These volumes are also very rich in portraits of leading Icelanders, which form its distinctive feature; a number of these are among the literary men mentioned above, others are Members of Parliament, and very interesting faces many of them are.—Altogether, *Sunnarfari* reflects great credit on its editor and on the nation from which it comes.

ELMREIDIN (Parts 1 and 2, 1895) is the title of a new periodical, edited by Dr. Valtýr Gudmundsson of Copenhagen University. Its name signifies *The Locomotive*, and is meant to suggest the question of introducing railways into Iceland. The two parts for 1895 (of about 80 pages each) are extremely readable. The first contains articles on 'Railways,' 'The Latin School,' and 'Insurance in Ancient Iceland,' by the editor, the latter describing a curious system of communal insurance established by law in Iceland before the thirteenth century; on 'Icelandic Industries,' by Jón Jónson; 'Consumption in Iceland,' by Gudmund Magnússon; 'The Serum-cure of Croup,' with illustrations; 'Life in Copenhagen,' by Jón Jónson.—In the second part there are papers on 'Peat and Coal,' by Helgi Pjetursson; 'Belief in Fairies in Iceland,' by Finn Jónson, from which we learn that there is now practically no belief in them at all; 'Niels R. Finsen and his (Medical) Discoveries,' by Bogi Melsted.—There is also a very appreciative notice of the poems of Steingrím Thorsteinsson, written by Thorstein Erlingsson, whose own work is reviewed in terms of the highest praise by Thorstein Gíslason.—Further, there are translations of two interesting tales, one by the Finnish author Juhani Aho ('The First Settlers'), and one by Björnson ('A Ghastly Memory of Childhood').—In poetry there are some excellent things in both parts, especially those by Thorstein Erlingsson, whether these are in his lighter vein, like the 'Song of Spring,' and 'Little Bard on bough so green,' or in the deeper strain of 'The Path,' a stirring appeal to his countrymen to go forward in the path of progress, and 'In the Hospital,' which is a touching and powerful protest against the doctrine of eternal punishment and the faith founded upon it. Dr. Valtýr (who also appears as a poet) is to be congratulated on having secured so much talent for the first issues of his journal.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Lectures on Preaching. By W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D.,
D.C.L., Bishop of Ripon. London and New York:
Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These lectures were delivered in the Divinity School at Cambridge a little more than a year ago, and to those who listened to them must have been exceedingly profitable. They are informed with a rich experience, both of preachers and preaching, which is set forth in that clear and attractive way with which readers of the author's writings are well acquainted. The lectures are in all six, and treat of the Preacher and his Training, the Sermon and its Structure, the Preacher and his Age, and the Aim of the Preacher. On all these topics the author speaks with authority, and delivers himself of wise and weighty counsel, to which both those who are already preachers and those who are intending to be such would, we should say, do well to give heed. The Preacher, Dr. Carpenter, defines, using Lord Beaconsfield's phrase, as 'a man of light and leading.' 'The man of light,' he says, 'gives us knowledge and truth, and their value is quite independent of the man who gives it; but the man of leading leads because of certain qualities in himself which come into activity when in contact with men.' These two qualities of the Preacher are dwelt upon at considerable length, and with an abundance of illustration. So also is the necessity for their combination if the preaching is to be effective. Referring to the second quality, Dr. Carpenter remarks, 'As a matter of history, the charm of the great preachers of the past has been in something which their published sermons never produced. Those who heard Newman preach tell us that it was not exactly the thing said which impressed them, but the sense of the preacher's personality as it passed across the manuscript to the hearer's heart.' Another illustration of the same principle is given us from Dr. Chalmers' life. 'He was fond of preaching his old sermons. He did so openly, giving notice of his intentions; but the crowds still came to hear from his lips even sermons which were in print. The personal force of the man gave something which these printed words could not give. The words became luminous as they sprang from his lips.' As a training for the ministry the author demands careful self-cultivation,—reason, knowledge, imagination, and affection should alike be trained into strength and use. For the preparation of a sermon Dr. Carpenter urges three things—reflection, reading, writing. As for the form and structure of sermons he would have every man follow the bent of his own mind, requiring only that the thoughts should be ordered and that the sermon should grow. Order, he insists, is essential. The form or framework, he thinks, may and ought to vary. The late Bishop Brooks used to say that every sermon should follow the same lines and be cast after the same mould. Bishop Carpenter disputes the dictum, and thinks that the form should adapt itself to the subject and to the mood of the preacher. He has much to say also on the preacher being abreast of his age and on his speaking the language of his times, and on his suiting his message and manner to the requirements of his hearers. Altogether the volume is full of advice, much of which is of sterling worth to preachers, whether old or young.

The Elements of Ethics. By JAMES H. HYSLOP, Ph.D., Instructor in Ethics, Columbia College, New York. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1895.

This is not an easy book to review with scrupulous fairness. As the author points out in his Preface, it 'is designed as an introductory treatise upon the fundamental problems of theoretical ethics.' That is to say, the book is intended primarily as a means of entrance into a difficult subject for beginners. It can hardly be said that it is likely to fulfil this purpose with conspicuous success. There are two main reasons for this judgment. In the first place, analysis is carried out to excess. Indeed, so extended are the ramifications into which Dr. Hyslop permits his thought to run that it becomes positively obscure at points. Distinction is heaped upon distinction till even the expert has to turn back once and again to assure himself that he has grasped the precise line of argument. Probably Dr. Hyslop has fallen into this error from a laudable desire to avoid writing, as so many others have done, a book merely useful for cramming exigencies. If so, he has certainly succeeded, but at the expense of committing other errors which, if less conducive to intellectual laziness, are at least as fatal to the beginner. In the second place, Dr. Hyslop himself falls, not infrequently, into that besetting sin of the young student—the use of technical terms when ordinary words would probably have served as well. If, then, for these reasons the work is unlikely to subserve the end for which it was manifestly intended, one must not run away with the idea that it is wanting in merit. In fact, the reverse is rather the truth. For those who are engaged in the work of teaching or of investigating—mainly with a reference to their more immediate history—ethical problems and doctrines, the book is likely to be of great assistance. It is distinctly suggestive and stimulating; it is wonderfully free from dogmatism; and it nowhere descends to the level of preaching. The chapters on Freedom and on Responsibility are real contributions to the subject, and the author's whole tone is admirably fair and objective.

John Stuart Mill; A Study of his Philosophy. By CHARLES DOUGLAS, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1895.

One might easily object to this book according to a well known, and perhaps sufficiently merited, method. It shares a certain characteristic manner with many works on particular writers which issue from the Neo-Hegelian school. It might be dismissed by saying that it treats Mill by the method of double refraction. Where he was strong, he shared, unconsciously of course, the doctrines of Hegel; where he was weak he departed from those tenets, and to bring him into line with them is the critic's task. But it would be unfair to Dr. Douglas to allege that this is all he has done. If nothing else, he has faithfully studied Mill. He knows his author, and does not try to squeeze him into a certain ready made mould. Here and there, no doubt, he seeks to find idealistic affinities which few would have suspected, but this is an error which he shares with so many of his school that we must be thankful for the comparative absence of it. The main criticism to be passed upon the book is that the author does not sufficiently indicate his own doctrines. The chief strength of the study, on the other hand, lies in the fact that it is the first attempt to set Mill's thought in the historic line of philosophic development.

Owing to the limitations which preconceived ideas impose upon him, Dr. Douglas has not said the final word on this subject; but no candid reader can fail to see that in the future any one returning to Mill's place in speculative thought must reckon with this book. It is also to be commended for a painstaking analysis of Mill's work—of his *ipsissima verba*—such as is not too commonly found in the writings of Neo-Hegelians when they try to set past thinkers in their 'proper' historical position.

The History of Greece from the Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation. By ADOLF HOLM. Translated from the German. Vol. 2. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

In this volume Dr. Holm follows the same plan as he adopted in the first, setting out with commendable brevity and clearness first the history as derived from old and trustworthy records; next, the additions made to it by biased contemporaries or in later antiquity; and then the conclusion at which modern research has arrived. The advantages of this method in writing the History of Greece and for the intelligent study of it has been admitted on all hands, and Dr. Holm is to be congratulated both on the invention of it and on the skill and thoroughness with which he is carrying it out. The second volume, dealing as it does with the history of Greece during the fifth century B.C., is of surpassing interest. The great events of the period are succinctly but vividly described, and the different phases through which the history of them has passed are clearly indicated. The principal original authorities depended upon are of course Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Among the most important passages in the volume are those in which Dr. Holm discusses the value of the records of these writers for the purposes of his history and compares them with the writings of such authors as Plutarch and Diodorus. On several points Dr. Holm differs from his predecessors, as for instance, in his estimate of the position of Aristides and Themistocles, the aims of Pericles, and the different currents of civilisation in the Greek world as a whole. His views as to the character of the Persian wars are on the whole similar to those advocated by the late Mr. Freeman. As might be expected the chapters dealing with Sicily are of special importance. Those on the art and literature are brief and among the best in the volume, and the one on The New Culture at Athens may be commended to others as well as to the student of Greek History. Many of the notes to this volume are of considerable length. At page 418 we have a sketch of the history of the coinage of Western Greece supplementary to that in the first volume of the author's *Geschichte Siciliens*. A number of the notes are controversial. Their principal value, however, is that they put the reader in possession of the latest results of modern writers on Greece and Greek history. The translation, as in the first volume, is excellent, and the translators, whoever they are, deserve the thanks of English readers interested in historical matters for giving them access to so admirable a work.

Fife: Pictorial and Historical; Its People, Burghs, Castles, and Mansions. By A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A., Scot. 2 vols. Cupar-Fife: A. Westwood & Son. 1895.

Though not to be compared with the magnificent tomes of some of the English county histories, these two quarto volumes which Mr. Millar has prepared on the kingdom of Fife will easily bear comparison with any of

the volumes in which the history of the Scottish counties is recorded. The paper is good, the type is excellent, the letter-press is set off with ample margins, the publishers have come into possession of a series of excellent plates, some of them by artists of the first reputation, representing the shores of Fife, and with some of these and others which have been specially prepared for the work, the volumes are abundantly illustrated; the binder also has done his part with efficiency, and nothing has apparently been left undone by the publishers to make this latest of the histories of Fife take the foremost place among them. Mr. Millar's share in the production of the work, while by far the largest and most important, has also been the most laborious. For his information he has evidently travelled far and wide; for much of it he has to all appearance had frequent recourse to original sources, and would evidently appear to have visited all the places he mentions, note-book in hand. The first and third chapters, which treat respectively of prehistoric Fife and of the mineralogy of Fife have already, as we learn from the preface, done duty in the *Shores of Fife*, the volume from whence a number of the illustrations have been drawn, but here they have undergone revision, the latter by Professor Heddle, its author, and the other to the approval of Dr. Laing, by whom it was originally written. These chapters are followed by a series of others in which among other things the Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, the Parliamentary and Ecclesiastical Histories, the Local Government, and the Population and Valuation of the County are treated. In all these chapters, which serve as a general introduction to the work, Mr. Millar has brought together a vast mass of information from a great variety of sources. Many of his statistics do not come down to a later year than 1892, but the reason for this we suppose is that at the time the tables were prepared no more recent statistics were accessible. For a similar reason we imagine some important facts in connection with the history of education in the county which have transpired since then, have not been registered, and the changes consequent on the institution of Parish Councils have been passed over in silence. In an Appendix, however, an attempt is made to supply these deficiencies. After discussing the general topics just referred to Mr. Millar proceeds to give an account of the various parishes in the county. Beginning with those in the Cupar district he goes on to treat of those in the Howe of Fife, in the St. Andrews district, in the East Neuk, along the South Coast, and in the Markinch district, and then of the remainder in the West and North of the County. In dealing with a parish Mr. Millar's method, speaking generally, for it is not invariably followed, is to describe first its position, and extent, and geographical features, next, its antiquities and history, both civil and ecclesiastical, and then to give some account of its estates, landowners and principal families. Literature is of course not forgotten. In the chapter devoted to the Parish of Kilrenny we have a long notice of 'Polemio-Middinia,' or the 'Midden-Fecht,' a humorous poem written by Drummond of Hawthornden in doggerel Latin verse during his stay with his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot, at Scotstarvit Tower, in 1628. From what has now been said, it will be seen that Mr. Millar has tried to treat his subject in as large and comprehensive a manner as possible. Of course in travelling over so large a field Mr. Millar has had to deal with many obscure and many doubtful and debateable topics. The best of men make mistakes, and Mr. Millar, though he tells us that he has made the history of Fife a special study, is no exception. Some of those into which he has fallen are somewhat singular for so constant a writer. On page 2 crannogs are confounded with pile-dwellings, though the difference in their construction is very considerable, and the right description of the former is quoted immediately after

from Dr. Munro's book on *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*. Whether the 'castle' at Collessie and 'the regular fortalice, situated in a bog, with ditch and drawbridge' mentioned on the following page were built upon crannogs has not so far as we know, been ascertained. Certainly neither the 'castle' nor the ' fortalice ' is a crannog. The inscription which Sir James Melville caused to be built into the wall of the burial place of the Hallhill family is not ' faintly visible ' as Mr. Millar says, but perfectly legible. Strangely enough on page 328 of the first volume Mr. Millar quotes as ' the inscription on the headstone which marked the grave where the five Covenanters who assassinated Archbishop Sharp ' were buried, the lines :—' A faithful martyr here doth lye, ' etc., which are inscribed on Andrew Gullan's stone standing about a quarter of a mile away. The suggested derivation for ' Dunino ' is not happy. Mr. Millar would bring it from *Dun-nigheanach*, meaning ' hill of the daughters. ' A more likely derivation and one which is suggested by the position of the place, is *Dun-naonach*, ' the foot of the moor. ' When speaking of this parish Mr. Millar omits to mention the ' Bell Craig ' in the den of Dunino, with its remarkable pot-hole. The antiquarian work done at Falkland and St. Andrews deserves more attention than it receives. When speaking of Dundee College in connection with the University of St. Andrews Mr. Millar simply says the former ' was affiliated ' to the latter. This is evidently a slip, as Mr. Millar is aware, we should suppose, that the attempt was to do more than ' affiliate, ' and that from 1890 until the Order of the Commissioners was annulled Dundee was made to form part of the University. In a large work like the present, however, inaccuracies and omissions are sure to occur. Still, Mr. Millar's work, notwithstanding the points to which we have called attention, is so far as we know the most comprehensive and best history of the county which has yet been written.

The Universities of Aberdeen : A History. By ROBERT SANGSTER RAIT, M.A. Aberdeen : James Gordon Bisset. 1895.

Mr. Rait has done his work well. In a series of excellently written chapters he has traced the history of the two Aberdeen Universities down from their first inception to their union and almost to the issue of the last of the Ordinances of the Universities' Commission. For his material he has gone for the most part to the original sources, and has allowed them to speak for themselves. At the same time he has not allowed these to burden his pages with unnecessary details ; he has carefully sifted his material and produced a volume which, besides being full of recondite information, is eminently readable. First he gives a sketch of the state of Education in Scotland up to the time of Bishop Elphinstone, with special reference to the founding of the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow. Next, we have a brief but graphic sketch of Bishop Elphinstone, and then the story of the foundation of King's College, Aberdeen, together with an account of its charters, endowments, teaching and principal *alumni*. Marischal College is then treated in the same way. To very many readers this part of the narrative will in all probability prove the most interesting of the two as being the less known. Anyhow there is no lack of interest in it. The jealousies and quarrels between the two Universities, as well as their own internal strifes are narrated. Mr. Rait also sketches the various attempts made to unite the two institutions previous to their union in 1858. A work of so much ability deserved a little more consideration at the hands of the printer and might have been put into a better type. The type in which it has appeared may perhaps be accounted for by the small price at which it is published.

Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland. By the Rev. NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

These 'Chapters' apparently form one of the series of the Chalmers' Lectures. Dr. Walker does not profess to give in them a history of the Free Church of Scotland during the fifty and odd years of its existence, but a series of sketches descriptive of the leading experiences through which it has passed. Generally speaking, the sketches he has given are those of the origin of the Free Church and the development of its various organisations. In the first of the Chapters we have, of course, the story of the Disruption controversy, written from the Free Church point of view, and in a highly controversial strain. In the other chapters there is less of this, and their value is thereby enhanced. In these we are able to follow the almost heroic efforts which the new organisation made to set itself firmly upon its feet and to carry on its work as a branch of the Church of Christ. One chapter is devoted to a narrative of the efforts made for the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland; and another to setting forth the literary work done by ministers and others of the Free Church, of whose writings there is a long, if not a complete, list. Dr. Walker writes clearly. The non-controversial parts of his volume are valuable, and form important chapters in the ecclesiastical history of the country.

The Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century: A brief and popular account of its Origin, History, Literature, and General Results. Six Lectures by GEORGE WORLEY. With an Introduction by the Dean of St. Paul's, London: Elliot Stock. 1894.

Among the many volumes which have been written in connection with the great religious movement inaugurated, among others, by the late Cardinal Newman at Oxford, this is almost, if not quite singular. Mr. Worley was not mixed up in it: he is not a clergyman, but a layman leading a commercial life who has devoted his leisure hours chiefly to the study of the works bearing upon his subject. That there is anything new in the volume can hardly be said, but it has the merit of containing a layman's thoughts about the 'Catholic revival,' and shows us distinctly how it has presented itself to the lay mind. On this account it is worth reading; and not on this account alone. Those who have read the larger narratives will here find most that they have there read in a condensed form and put with great freshness, while those who are unacquainted with what is now a matter of history will obtain with the smallest amount of trouble to themselves a very clear conception of one of the greatest, and in fact of the greatest of the religious movements of the present century. The first lecture is specially interesting as containing a somewhat graphic description of the state of religion in England previous to the appearance of the once celebrated 'Tracts for the Times.' In the rest of the lectures Mr. Worley traces the growth of the movement, its literature and the fruits which the 'revival' is now bearing in England. The lectures are written in a popular style, and here and there in their pages are passages culled from the writings of Cardinal Newman, Mr. Moberly, Dean Church, and others who took a greater or less part in bringing about the results described in the concluding lecture.

Wolfe. By A. G. BRADLEY ('Men of Action' Series.) London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The inclusion of a narrative of the career of the Conqueror of Quebec in this series is a matter of course. Few men have a greater title to be included in it. If not a 'man of action' Wolfe was nothing. He wrote admirable dispatches and was an excellent correspondent, but from his fifteenth year up to the moment of his death he was engaged solely in the profession of arms, and had served in no fewer than seven campaigns before he had reached his twenty-first year. Besides seeing service on the Continent, Cape Breton, and the Heights of Abraham, he passed a great part of his short but eventful career in Scotland. He was present at Culloden and took part, though much against his will, in the ruthless work which followed. On this account, perhaps, as well as for other reasons, he disliked Scotland. All the same he was in command among other places at Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Banff, Fort Augustus, and Inverness, where he made himself popular, and did what he could to soften the asperities of the times and to reconcile the Jacobites to the existing state of affairs. Mr. Bradley, in the volume before us, follows him from place to place, and gives a minute account of his doings. The greater number of his pages, however, is devoted to the campaigns in Canada. He does full justice to the ability of Wolfe, to his enthusiasm and his daring. He has a good word to say for Montcalm, and gives graphic descriptions of the capture of Louisbourg and of Quebec. His volume, indeed, is one of the most attractive in the series to which it belongs, and recalls one of the greatest feats in the history of war.

George Morland, Painter, London (1763-1804). By RALPH RICHARDSON, F.R.S.E. London: Elliot Stock. 1895.

Morland was one of those unfortunate individuals who are their own worst enemies. Blessed with a vigorous constitution, abundant spirit, and fine talent, he might, but for his own folly, have produced more and perhaps better work, and have lived and died happily. He did not choose to control himself, notwithstanding the efforts of his parents and his own better judgment, and the consequence was that, whatever his success as an artist, his life was practically a failure. Mr. Richardson does not try to palliate his faults. He likens him, not without good reason, to Burns. The two were spoiled children of genius, spoiled by the society in which they moved, but chiefly by themselves. Morland's life has been written before. In fact, he has had no fewer than four biographers before Mr. Richardson, and the excuse which his most recent biographer has for making him the subject of a volume is that the four other biographies are now exceedingly scarce, and that he has further information to give respecting his works. Biographies like Morland's are not without their attractions. If they point a moral, they also afford opportunities for depicting phases of social life which history and biographies of a different stamp usually overlook. Mr. Richardson has done his work well and succinctly. Morland, he admits, had little excuse for his faults, save that he was probably not wisely brought up, and that the habits of the times were bad. The information given in the appendices is valuable, and concerns the fortunes of Morland's works. Mr. Richardson has done his best to fix their dates, and has given a list, so far as known, of those which have been engraved. Notwithstanding all that may be said against him, there was something great about Morland, and perhaps Mr. Richardson is not without some measure of justification when he pleads that his private sins,

which were for the most part against himself, should be forgotten in view of the excellence of the work he gave to the world. This new biography appears in an excellent form and is illustrated with copies of some of Morland's best known works.

Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St. Columba, First Abbot of Iona, A.D. 563-597. Written by ST. ADAMNAN, Ninth Abbot, A.D. 697-704. A New Translation. London: Henry Frowde. 1895.

Some time ago Dr. Fowler published an excellent edition of the text of Adamnan's life of St. Columba, furnished with an admirable introduction and many valuable notes. Here he has translated the text for English readers. The introduction of the Latin edition is omitted as well as the notes and we have here simply the translation. From a note prefixed to the little volume we learn that the Translator's first consideration has been to make the version as accurate as possible, and that he has often imitated the style and construction of the original when the words might have been put into better English. Many parts of the translation we have diligently compared with the original text and have no hesitation in saying that, as might have been expected, the work has been done with careful accuracy and singular skill. In many places the translation is word for word, and the English reader is on almost every page brought as near to what Adamnan actually wrote as it is possible for him to be through the medium of another language. The low price at which the volume is published should place this masterpiece of hagiology in the hands of many to whom it has hitherto been inaccessible. It should be added that, as far as possible, Dr. Fowler has given the modern names for the places mentioned by Adamnan.

The American Commercial Policy. Three Historical Essays. By Ugo Rabbeno, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Modena. Second edition. Translated at the Translations Bureau, London. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Since their first appearance these essays have had the advantage of being partly re-written and entirely revised. In the first of them Professor Rabbeno traces the history of the commercial policy pursued by Great Britain towards her North American colonies from their origin down to the Declaration of Independence in the year 1776. In the second the history of the commercial policy of the United States is given; and in the third the Protectionist theories of Hamilton, List, H. C. Carey, and S. N. Patten are reviewed and criticised. Professor Rabbeno is a disciple of Adam Smith and an adherent of the principles of Free Trade. His aim in the present essays while historical is also exegetical. The essays themselves have been called forth by the strange contrast which exists between economic science and the actual state of things; economic science maintaining the theory of Free-trade almost as a dogma of faith, while the actual state of affairs shows in the present day as well as in the past, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made to perfect and propagate the doctrines of Smith and Ricardo, a widely diffused policy of protectionism. This condition of affairs is, in Professor Rabbeno's opinion, due to the fault of scientific method. 'The abstract theory with regard to international trade,' he says, 'is sound enough, but the concrete idea, that

is to say, the historical interpretation given to each particular fact is very defective. The former,' he adds, 'can to a certain extent be a guide to the latter, but of itself is absolutely insufficient.' And what he now proposes is to exchange the inductive for the deductive method, and instead of tracing in theory the rules which under certain abstract and uniform conditions, international trade should follow, to ascertain by inductive investigation the historical laws which it has followed in America and the causes which at different epochs in its economic existence have determined the adoption of the one or the other system of commercial policy. Hence, while historical and exegetical, his essays are also argumentative and strike out an almost entirely new line in the history of economic science. To follow the author into all the ramifications of his arguments and researches, or even into any of them, is here impossible. We can only say that whatever novelty there is in the essays is not due to anything in the general theory maintained, but to the way in which the author approaches the subject, and to the new reading which he gives to things, and generally to his application of a more scientific method to their interpretation. If here and there Professor Rabbeno hesitates it is not because he has any doubts as to the principles of his scientific masters, but to the greatness and obscurity of the problem with which he has to deal, or to the want of a sufficiency of facts for a clear induction. The thoroughness of the work is manifest on every page, and it can only be regarded as a valuable and timely contribution to a great and difficult subject, which is every day becoming of greater practical importance.

The Oxford English Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. (Deject-Depravation, and Deprava-tive-Development.) Vol. III. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. (Fee-Field.) Vol. IV. Edited by HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. July and October. 1895.

The publication of this great work continues with remarkable punctuality—a punctuality which is all the more remarkable when the vast amount of work which the preparation and issue of each Part involves is considered. In the two parts now before us, edited by Dr. Murray, the Editor in chief, 2444 main words, 66 combinations, and 322 subordinate words are dealt with, which, with the obvious combinations recorded and illustrated, but not defined, make up a total for the two sections of 2832 words, while the number of illustrative quotations in the sections reaches the high figure of 14,080, a number which largely surpasses that given in any other English Dictionary. The section edited by Mr. Bradley contains 962 main words, 229 subordinate words, 183 special combinations explained under the main words, and 27 obvious combinations recorded and illustrated without definition, making a total of 1645. The total number of illustrative quotations in the part is 8562. Many points of interest are brought out in the several parts. Among others, Dr. Murray points out that of the 1269 main words treated in the July Section, not more than ten are of Old English origin, the chief being 'dell,' 'delve,' 'dempster,' 'den,' 'dene'; attention is also called to the current corrupt spelling of 'delight,' the displacement of 'depeach' (Fr. *depêcher*) by 'dispatch' from the Italian *dispacciare*, and to the total loss of the transitive senses of 'depart' as in the original form of the English Marriage Service, 'till death us depart.' The series of articles under *Demi* and its compounds are extremely interesting, particularly the article under *demijohn*. Of

peculiar interest, too, in Dr. Murray's October part, are the articles under 'depravity,' 'detail,' 'determine,' 'development,' 'derrick,' 'dervish,' 'desk,' 'deuce,' and 'derring-do.' In Mr. Bradley's section the etymologies of 'feeze,' 'felon,' and 'feud,' are corrected, and the curious sense-history of such words as 'feed,' 'feel,' 'feign,' 'fence,' 'fetch,' and 'fetish,' is given. The Dictionary, indeed, is almost as entertaining as it is instructive. It is almost impossible to open it without finding something to attract and interest, and in searching its pages, one is apt to find oneself drawn away from the object of one's quest, unable to resist the temptation to loiter among its treasures.

The Speech of Cicero in defence of Cluentius. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by W. PETERSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of University College, Dundee. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Though not mentioned in the title-page, this volume is apparently a new and revised edition, both the introduction and translation along with the commentary having appeared before in a less elaborate form. The former translation it is suggested may be regarded as a draft; the one now offered may therefore we suppose be regarded as final and perfect, at least as far as the author is concerned. The introduction covers fifty pages; the translation a little more than twice as many, and the commentary or notes about fifty in smaller type. The whole work is intended for the benefit of the 'English reader,' and the hope is expressed that parts of it may not be without use to advanced scholars. As told by Cicero the story which the speech *Pro Cluentio* unfolds loses nothing in the telling. 'The element of human interest in it,' as Principal Peterson observes, 'is sustained throughout, even in the remote ramifications of a most intricate plot; and, in addition to the outbursts of eloquence that mark the progress of the action, the story is lit up by the vivid dramatic faculty which the orator always had at his command, as well as by touches of humour and pathos, the effect of which need not be wholly lost in an English rendering.' Whether any or all of this has been reproduced in Principal Peterson's rendering is of course another question. Translation is not easy, and to reproduce an effect produced by one of Cicero's orations is probably more than even so fluent a writer as Principal Peterson can accomplish. It may be said, however, that he has apparently spared no effort to put the 'English reader' in possession of all the ascertainable facts in connection with Cluentius and the company of villains with whom he was associated in the famous trial, and to make the text as intelligible as he can. The Introduction is sufficiently elaborated, but is rendered somewhat dull and confused with legal and other discussions, which for the sake of those for whom the work is mainly intended might have been left out or differently handled. An English reader coming across the following sentence: 'The arrangement of the first part of the speech, for example, was evidently adopted from a shrewd calculation of the effect it could not fail to produce on the minds of the bench,' will naturally suppose that the reference is to the minds of the presiding judges and not to those of the jurors. So again when Dr. Peterson says 'the votes of the whole bench being cast against him,' the English reader for whom he writes will naturally suppose that the votes of the presiding judges were cast and not those of the jurors. 'Bench' for a panel of jurymen is not the sort of English an Englishman would use if he wished to be intelligible. But to turn to the translation. Niebuhr and others were right when they recommended the systematic study of the speech to those who wished

to perfect themselves in the art of expression. We doubt, however, whether any one will recommend the translation now offered to us either for that purpose or for acquiring a knowledge of the grand style in oratory. In the original there is force, vivacity, and sufficient evidence of an intensely dramatic delivery. Dr. Peterson, however, has failed to reproduce it. The English reader if he reads nothing else than Dr. Peterson's version of this great speech will obtain but a very poor idea of Cicero as an orator, and fail to gather anything like an adequate idea of the speech *pro Cluentio*. Here for instance is the first sentence we have turned up. 'Quid? aviam tuam, Oppianice, Dinaeam, cui tu es heres, pater tuus non manifesto necavit? ad quam quum adduxisset medicum illum suum, iam cognitum, et saepe victorem, mulier exclamat, se ab eo nullo velle curari, quo curante suos omnes perdidisset;' and here is Dr. Peterson's rendering of it: 'Again, is it not a patent fact that your father, Oppianicus, murdered your grandmother Dinaea, whose heir you are? He brought to her that doctor of his who had already more than once given proof of his conquering skill; but the lady cried out that she would on no account be attended by one "whose attentions had lost her all her children."' Compared with Cicero's words Dr. Peterson's rendering cannot be called lively. It may represent the sense; it certainly does not represent the spirit of the original. To take but a single instance. Everybody has felt the force which even a modern speaker, who is no orator, can throw into the single word 'what' when used interrogatively. Consummate rhetorician as he was one can easily imagine the force, intense, if not almost terrific, which Cicero would throw into the 'Quid' with which the above sentence begins, yet Dr. Peterson tamely renders it by the word 'again.' Elsewhere too he has failed to throw himself into the speech and to realize the tremendous character of the statements Cicero was continually handling. Some of his phrases, also, do not seem to us altogether improvements, happy, or accurate, or sufficiently well chosen to bring out the meaning of the original. 'Itinerant quack' is no improvement upon Ramsay's rendering, 'itinerating quack' for 'pharmacopolam circumforaneum.' 'Being in a hurry' is a very weak rendering for *quin properaret* (14, 40). 'Likewise when Dinaea was making her will, Oppianicus, as having been her son-in-law, got the tablets into his hands and ran his finger through some bequests she was making' as a rendering for 'Eadem hac Dinea testamentum faciente, quum tabulas prehendisset Oppianicus, qui gener eius fuisset, digito legata delevit,' will not pass muster. 'As having been her son-in-law' is, to say the least, singular. It may perhaps be admitted to be grammatical, but grammar has sometimes to give way to facts, and as a matter of fact Oppianicus was her (Dinaea's) son-in-law, and to make the rendering English either the two words 'having been' require to be dropped out or 'being' requires to be substituted for them. 'Ran his finger through' fails to bring out the force of 'digito . . . delevit.' Think of a similar translation for 'Carthaginem delevit!'

The Harp of the Scottish Covenant: Poems, Songs, and Ballads relating to the Covenanting Struggle. Collected and Edited by JOHN MACFARLANE. With a Preface by Professor J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1895.

Most readers will appreciate Professor Clark Murray's remark that not until he had read Mr. Macfarlane's book did he believe so much had been written in verse about the Covenanting Struggles. It would almost seem

indeed as if most makers of verse in Scotland had at one time or other tried their hand upon one or more of its exciting scenes as affording a suitable subject for poetic treatment. Anyhow Mr. Macfarlane has not had to complain of want of material for his anthology. So far as we can judge he has had something like a plethora, and his difficulty has been to select. With the selection he has made few will be disposed to find fault. Among the poems he has printed we meet with some which have long been well known and not a few which are new. All of them are in some way or other connected with the great struggle of which Professor Clark Murray in his brief but pointed preface says, and says truly, 'it had in it all the elements of a national *epos*,' while many of them, though not cast in the form of the highest poetry, are calculated to stir the national pulse. They bring back the memory of a great time when men counted religion of more value than life and 'did not hesitate to lay down the latter in order to preserve their faith or to maintain their right to be free.' Such men deserve an anthology. They are the backbone, the living soul of a nation, and Mr. Macfarlane by compiling this volume has only done them an homage to which they are richly entitled at the hands of those who inherit the rights for which they fought, suffered and died.

Fingerprint Directories. By FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S., D.C.L., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Galton here gives directions for the formation of Fingerprint Directories, or for the methodical arrangement and classification of fingerprints in order to the identification of the individuals whose fingerprints they are. In addition to these directions we have the greater part of the Report prepared for the Home Secretary by a Departmental Committee instructed to inquire into the best means available for identifying habitual offenders. As most are aware, the Committee reported in favour of Mr. Galton's system, of which their Report contains, among other things, a very lucid description. Mr. Galton also gives a specimen Fingerprint Directory of 300 sets, together with a series of plates illustrating a number of the forms which the ridges of the tips of the fingers take. The volume is a necessary sequel to Mr. Galton's two previous publications, and though not put forth as final, will considerably facilitate the work which he has in hand and with which his name will be associated as one of the best methods of identification, if not indeed as the readiest and surest.

Report on the Work of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade (1893-94). London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1894.

Report by Miss Collet on the Statistics of Employment of Women and Girls. Same Publishers. 1894.

Report on Gain-Sharing and Certain Other Systems of Bonus on Production. Same Publishers. 1895.

Report on Wages and Hours of Labour, Parts I., II., and III. Same Publishers. 1894.

These publications are not literature in the ordinary acceptance of the term, and the general reader usually turns aside from them as things of no interest. Attention is here called to them, however, as parts of a series of publications initiated and carried on by the Board of Trade, which are not only of first importance from a commercial or mercantile point of view, but in which a good deal may be found to interest and in-

form, more especially in connection with the labouring classes. Of course their pages are for the most part filled with tables and statistics, still the figures in them are usually so admirably arranged that their bearing is not difficult to make out. As for the letterpress by which they are accompanied, it is the work of experts, whose letters, prefaces and notes, are full of reliable information, clearly and succinctly put. Some of the reports mentioned above are particularly interesting, and deal with topics which are at present attracting a considerable amount of public attention, and occupying the serious thought of those who are trying to solve the various social problems of the hour. Miss Collet's Report deserves particular mention, as also does Mr. Schloss's Report on 'Gain-Sharing.' The former will probably provoke controversy, but both of them are valuable contributions towards the solution of important social problems.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Acts of the Apostles, by T. E. Page, M.A., and A. S. Walpole, M.A., (Macmillan). Some years ago Mr. Page published an edition of the Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles with a commentary in which he kept to the narrow path of pure exegesis. This volume having been reprinted four times he has now availed himself of the assistance of Mr. Walpole to adapt his notes to the text of the authorised version, and the result is a purely exegetical commentary for English readers. The work is carefully and successfully done. An informing introduction is prefixed, and a glossary of obsolete English words is added. The little volume ought to be of great service to those who wish to understand the exact literal meaning either of the English or original text.

Prolegomena to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians (Macmillan) contains chiefly a couple of lectures delivered by the late eminent scholar the Rev. F. J. A. Hort as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. To the lectures are added analyses of the two Epistles. The lectures themselves are intended to serve as introductions to the Epistles, and though not covering all the ground which is usually taken up in 'Introductions,' are characterised by that careful scholarship and conservative tendency which readers of the late Professor's writings are accustomed to meet with in them.

The Essentials of Logic by Bernard Bosanquet (Macmillan) is a series of ten lectures on judgment and inference delivered by their author in connection with the University Extension movement. Only the two last lectures deal specifically with judgment and inference, but those which precede them contribute no less essentially to explain the nature of these mental acts. The lectures were well received on their delivery, and they may be commended as forming an excellent introduction to the study of larger works on the science of logic.

Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe is already well known as the author of *Individualism in Politics*, a work of considerable merit, and one of the most important criticisms which the theory of socialism has called forth. In *Law in a Free State* (Macmillan), while renewing his attack on Socialism, he advocates the doctrine of Individualism, which he believes is rapidly spreading and gathering to itself a large number of disciples, chiefly as a result of the teaching of Mr. Herbert Spencer. His own work is written in a popular style. Here and there he points out, not without a considerable amount of humour, how individualism and socialism are embodied in existing laws and recent attempts at legislation. Some of his speculations are curious, especially those on marriage, which in many quarters may fail to find acceptance.

Dr. Fowler's new edition of his short treatise on *Progressive Morality* (Macmillan) is substantially the same as the first. Here and there it has been corrected and expanded, but the theory is the same. Dr. Fowler, however, has taken the opportunity which the issue of this edition has offered of making two remarks for the purpose of avoiding misconceptions. The first is that under the term morality he includes the whole range of human conduct, and the second, that throughout the treatise morality is discussed as an independent science, and altogether apart from religious or theological grounds.

Much of the information contained in Dr. Macintosh's *History of the Valley of the Dee* (Taylor & Henderson) is such as is not to be found in ordinary histories. All the same it has its worth and helps to give a vivid idea of the district and its inhabitants. It is a district with which the author is thoroughly acquainted, having apparently been born and bred there. With the places he describes he is familiar, and to the knowledge he has been able to acquire from books concerning the district he has added much from his own reminiscences.

The Rev. W. E. Cousins has spent over thirty years in the island of Madagascar as one of the agents of the London Missionary Society, and being on furlough has utilised his holiday in writing a small volume which is now issued by the Religious Tract Society under the title *Madagascar of To-day*. It contains little over one hundred and fifty pages; but in them he has managed to give an instructive and graphic account of the geography of the island, together with a history of its inhabitants and their institutions. The volume is illustrated with portraits, maps, and sketches of scenery. At the present moment the volume will be read with interest as dealing with a place which is now a seat of war.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages, by the late Dean Church, is not a new book but a reprint. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., having obtained the necessary permission from Messrs. Longmans, have added it to their 'Eversley Series.' Those who have the rest of the Dean's works in this series will no doubt welcome it, as will also others. It is much too good a book to be allowed to remain among school books. For those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the period to which it is devoted no better introduction can be commended.

To their 'Golden Treasury Series' Messrs. Macmillan have added a selection of the poems of Robert Southey. The selection has been made and arranged by Professor Dowden, and may be said to contain almost, if not all, that is best in Southey's poetical writings. Professor Dowden contributes a sympathetic, but not uncritical, introduction.

Thackeray: A Study (Macmillan) is an attempt on the part of Mr. Adolphus A. Jack to form a critical estimate of Thackeray as a novelist. The 'Study' shows a considerable acquaintance with the writings of Thackeray and some amount of critical power. The canons of criticism laid down by the author are not always observed. His division of Thackeray's literary career into periods may be commended. That Thackeray should have developed his characters in other than the books in which they first appeared is not a matter for blame. Nor does the fact that he did not in *Vanity Fair* depict the entire fashionable world strike us as a subject for censure. Mr. Jack has not said the last word about Thackeray, though much of what he says is true, and all of it deserves to be considered.

The teinds is a subject on which there is much ignorance and misapprehension. At the same time it is not a subject that is readily understood, at least by the lay mind. In his little handbook which he entitles *Dis-*

endowment Doctrines Disapproved (Lewis, Selkirk), Mr. J. B. Douglas, W.S., has done his best to make it intelligible to all. He has written, in fact, not for lawyers but for the public. Everything about the tiends he does not profess to explain; but any one of average intelligence may learn from his pages sufficient on this knotty legal topic to prevent him from falling into serious error and to enable him to correct some of the errors which are afloat.

Mr. Nicholson has issued in the 'Mermaid' Series a second volume of selected plays from the works of Ben Jonson. The title of the volume is of course *Ben Jonson*, and the publisher is Mr. Fisher Unwin. Three plays make up the volume—'Bartholomew Fair,' 'Cynthia's Revels,' and the classical 'Sejanus His Fall.' As in the previous volume each play has an introduction prefixed to it, Mr. Nicholson being the author.

Men, Women, and Books, by Augustine Birrell (Elliot Stock), is not a new book, but in this, its cheaper form, it ought to find a still larger number of purchasers. The Essays, as we need hardly say, are all pleasant reading, full of genial thought and admirable humour. Of course Mr. Birrell has his own way of thinking and his own way of looking both at men and women and books, and his own opinions about them, opinions too which he is nowise slow to express, but they are always so carefully balanced and their expression so apt, that, however much we may differ from him, one has always the consciousness while reading him that we are in the company of an extremely interesting and genial companion, to whom to listen is a pleasure.

Tales of the Covenanters, by Robert Pollok, illustrated by H. M. Brock (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier). This is a reprint of a once much read volume. It covers much the same ground as Mr. Crockett's most recent novel, and has perhaps not been without its influence in the writing of that story. Be that as it may, Pollok's narratives have not lost their interest, and though not exactly written in the modern style are well worth reading. The present edition is adorned with a series of excellent illustrations, and the publishers have added to the Tales an account of their author.

Repentance Tower and its Tradition (G. P. Johnstone, Edinburgh), is the paper which Mr. George Neilson read some time ago before the Glasgow Archæological Society, and which he has now reprinted with a few verbal alterations and embellished with several photographic plates. The little volume is of some importance to antiquaries. It contains a careful argument which attempts to solve the puzzle connected with this ancient Annandale monument, which is associated with so many incidents in Border warfare and around which tradition has woven a legend of some pathos both in regard to its origin and its name.

The volume entitled *The Story of Barlaam and Joasaph: Buddhism and Christianity* (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta) which has been prepared by the Rev. Dr. K. S. Macdonald and the Rev. Jno. Morrison, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, is a work of considerable scholarship, and apparently well adapted for the purpose they have in hand. It contains five English versions of the legend, viz., The History of the Five Wise Philosophers, or the Life of Jehosaphat or Joasaph, printed for Ed. Midwinter, in 1732, Caxton's version in the Golden Legend, and the texts of the Vernon, Harleian, and Bodleian MSS. Dr. Macdonald has supplied the volume with a scholarly and excellent introduction in which he proves pretty conclusively that neither the Life of Buddha nor the teaching of Buddhism had any influence on the Gospels or other Scriptures of the New Testament, and that there is no reason

whatever for supposing that either our Lord or the Evangelists or Apostles ever heard either of Buddha or his doctrines. Dr. Macdonald also discusses the history of the Legend, and has some apposite remarks on Jacobus de Voragine and his *Legenda Aurea* or *Lombardica Historia* as it was originally called. We meet, however, with no reference to the version of the Legend which is given by Vicent of Beauvais in the fifteenth book of his *Speculum Historiale*, in which he has evidently used a different source from Voragine. The philological notes have been added by the Rev. Mr. Morrison, the learned Principal of the Scottish Church's Institution in Calcutta. These are carefully and thoroughly done. Many of the words, however, which he derives from the Danish might have been traced back to the Icelandic or Old Norse. The grammatical parts of the notes are excellent, and the entire volume ought to be of great service to those for whom it has been prepared.

A Visit to Bashan and Argob, by Major Algernon Heber-Percy (Religious Tract Society) is a very handsomely printed and beautifully illustrated record of a journey which the author paid to this little known district of Palestine lying to the East of the Sea of Tiberias. Though frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, this district has been rarely visited by Europeans or Biblical scholars. The region is extremely difficult to traverse both on account of the roughness of the country and on account of the character of its inhabitants. The country has all the appearance of having been frequently tossed and torn by earthquakes, its people are wild and dangerous, and it was only under the friendly protection of the neighbouring Druses that Major Heber-Percy with his wife and two sons was able to travel in it. It is rich, however, in architectural remains, and judging by the narrative and illustrations here given the travellers we should say were well repaid for the trouble and danger they underwent. The volume, as we need hardly say, is both entertaining and instructive, and casts considerable light upon the fortunes of this part of the inheritance of the Sons of Jacob.

Among the recent publications issued by the Librairie de l' Art (Paris) are *Benvenuto Cellini*, par Emile Molinier, *Herbert Robert et son temps*, par C. Gabillot, and *Polyclète*, par Pierre Paris. All of them belong to the 'Les Artistes Célèbres' series. The names of the authors are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of their separate works. In addition to the above we have received from the same publishers an illustrated edition of the Flemish legend, *Le Sire de Ryebekke*, of the *Historie du Gras W. Lemaigre et du maigre W. Legras*, and *Les Anciens Instruments de Musique*. The last is by M. E. de Bricqueville, and treats of a great variety of stringed, wind, and percussion instruments of music, many of which are no longer in use, but are still sought after by the curious in these matters.

Redburn, by Henry Ochiltree (Alex. Gardner), though evidently by a new hand is by one who has a high ideal of what a novel ought to be, and who with practice may soon achieve it. It is a Scottish story, but by no means of the 'Kailyaird' species. Mr. Ochiltree, for such we must call him, writes forcibly and to the point. He makes no attempt to write three volumes, but seems on the whole to be anxious to tell his story in the fewest words. Here and there he falls into the preaching and moralising vein—a circumstance which leads us to suppose that he is a minister—but with these exceptions the action of his narrative never pauses. The characters—Liz, Nanse, Sandy, Adam Scott, and all of them are as distinct as possible, and the author has the art of letting them describe themselves by their sayings and doings. The story is not an uncommon one; but it is full of human interest. The final scenes are tragic and altogether

unexpected. As might be expected there is much Lowland Scotch in the volume. It deserves to be highly commended. The author we must add has a graphic pen, and some of his descriptive passages, which have the merit of being always short, are wonderfully vivid.

Cora Linn, by J. Gordon Phillips (Alex. Gardner), is an historical romance, the scene of which is laid far back in the almost mythical period of Scottish history. To say that it is full of stir and movement is to give but a slight idea of its intensely dramatic character; incident follows incident with almost breathless rapidity, and in many cases are hinted at rather than narrated. The plot, however, is skilfully woven and contains a number of surprises. Belonging to the period of the Danish invasion, there is in it, as might be expected, much fighting and many hairbreadth escapes. The principal figures in the story are Cora, the King's daughter, her lover Mac Ian Rua, the King's forester; Kentigern, a hermit, who has a wonderful history, and the Witch of the Rumbling Well. Next to Cora the most interesting of these is the hermit. His movements are at times surprising, and one has at times some difficulty in accounting for his appearance. Mr. Phillips has availed himself of all the old machinery of underground passages, poisonings, intrigues, caves, secret doors, and secret chambers. The sudden transitions in the story are at times annoying. The story is sufficiently interesting of itself and we fail to see the necessity for having recourse to an artifice which may do well enough in the pages of a weekly or monthly publication, but is not at all requisite here.

The Men of the Moss-Hags, by S. R. Crockett (Isbister & Co.), is said to be the veracious history of William Gordon of Earlstoun in Galloway, taken from his papers and told over again by the author of the *Raiders*, though when we turn to the story the narrator is not Mr. Crockett, but ostensibly Mr. William Gordon. Judging of him out of his own mouth Mr. William Gordon is a somewhat curious compound. He is slow of thought, particularly slow of perception and somewhat tedious with his pen. With becoming modesty he plays only a second part in the events he has to narrate. He practises pistol shooting with care, but has no stomach for a fight, and sometimes takes refuge behind others. One has a sort of suspicion too that he has no stomach for the preachings he attends. All the same he does good work for the persecuted and proves himself, notwithstanding his trepidation, a sort of dependable man. Taking his narrative as a whole, however, it will scarcely bear comparison with the *Raiders*. The story is too long drawn out. In the scene of the children Mr. Crockett has overshot the mark, and with his sentimentalism spoilt what might otherwise have proved an extremely effective incident. The chapter entitled 'Cupboard Love' is almost silly. Some of the scenes, however, are extremely effective. The best drawn figure in all the multitude that appear on Mr. Crockett's canvas is, at the beginning of his career, Wulcat, though towards the end of the story he degenerates. Mr. Crockett has had a capital subject, but though here and there the signs of great skill are evident, he has not quite risen to the occasion.

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